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Vol. XXVI.

JANUARY - MARCH, 1935

No. 1

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY  
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by  
JOHN L. GERIG



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS  
HEPBURN AND EDWIN STS., WILLIAMSPORT, PA., and  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Williamsport, Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879

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# **THE ROMANIC REVIEW**

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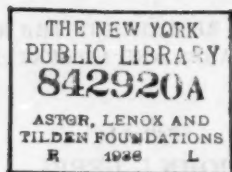
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ROMANIC REVIEW

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J. ROBERTSON (1871-1872) AND J. ROBERTSON

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Volume XXVI

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

WILLIAMSPORT PRINTING & BINDING CO.  
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*Edited by*

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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXVI—JANUARY—MARCH, 1935—No. 1

## ADDITIONAL GREETINGS TO THE ROMANIC REVIEW

**R**EADERS of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Issue of the ROMANIC REVIEW, which was published in the latter part of December, 1934, may have noticed that no messages appeared therein from two European nations that are held in highest esteem by all Americans, viz., Portugal and Switzerland. Although that Issue was delayed until the last moment in the hope that those messages would arrive in time to be included with the others, unavoidable reasons rendered it impossible for their authors to dispatch them earlier.

It is, therefore, with great pleasure that the ROMANIC REVIEW publishes in its present number greetings from H. E. Tamagnini, Minister of Education of Portugal, sent by radio from Lisbon on Dec. 31, 1934, and from H. E. Marc Peter, Minister of Switzerland at Washington, written on Jan. 17, 1935. At the same time, additional pleasure is given by words of felicitation from President Frederick B. Robinson, of the College of the City of New York, as well as from Professor Casimir D. Zdanowicz, of the University of Wisconsin, which may serve as a supplement to the aforementioned greetings.

To all other friends of the ROMANIC REVIEW, who have so thoughtfully sent congratulations, warmest appreciation is hereby extended.

J. L. G.

\* \* \*

## RADIOGRAM

Lisboa 31, Etat.  
Professor Gerig, Columbia University, New York.  
Columbia University, New York.

Portuguese Government sends best compliments for 25th anniversary issue of ROMANIC REVIEW wherein Portuguese Language and Literature have so often found friendly echo.

(Signed)

TAMAGNINI, Ministro Instrução.



LEGATION DE SUISSE  
Washington, D. C.

Le 17 janvier 1935.

Monsieur John L. Gerig,  
Professor of Celtic, Columbia University.  
Monsieur le Professeur,

Je me joins bien volontiers à tous ceux qui vous ont envoyé leurs félicitations à l'occasion du 25<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la ROMANIC REVIEW que vous dirigez avec tant de science et de compétence.

J'ai pu juger moi-même, par la lecture de votre Revue, de la variété des sujets traités par vos collaborateurs et du grand intérêt que présentent ces études pour tous les pays où l'on parle l'une ou l'autre des langues romanes.

Avec tous mes meilleurs vœux pour l'avenir de votre publication, je vous prie, Monsieur le Professeur, d'agréer l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

(Signed)

MARC PETER,  
Ministre de Suisse.

\* \* \*

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 5, 1935.

Prof. John L. Gerig, Columbia University.  
Dear Professor Gerig:

It was very thoughtful of you to send me the twenty-fifth anniversary number of the ROMANIC REVIEW. You are to be congratulated most heartily upon the excellent development of this publication. It shows clearly that the directing head has the unusual combination of most satisfactory intellectual and spiritual qualities with practical managerial ability.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I am,

(Signed)

Faithfully,  
FREDERICK B. ROBINSON.

\* \* \*

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
DEPARTMENT OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN

7 January, 1935.

Professor J. L. Gerig,  
Department of Romance Languages, Columbia University.  
My dear Professor Gerig:

Permit me to offer you sincere congratulations on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the ROMANIC REVIEW. The date would have escaped me had it not been in the last number of the REVIEW.

You and the others who founded it deserve the gratitude of all scholars in Romance languages for the bold initiative and the excellent accomplishment during these twenty-five years.

May I tell you also how much I enjoy your own pages of *Varia* and how much I marvel at the wealth of interesting information you pack into these



pages? The notes are very useful and something that we do not find elsewhere.

With cordial personal regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

CASIMIR D. ZDANOWICZ,  
Professor of French.

#### THE SCHOLARSHIP OF LUIS DE LEÓN

THE Renaissance is frequently translated as the Revival of Learning, a vast and sudden increase in our knowledge of the classical tongues on which civilization has been based. That the Spanish nation shared in the rebirth of Latin erudition no one who has heard of Nebrija, Sánchez de las Brozas, Vitoria or Sepúlveda would be tempted to deny; and the doubts which hung round the Greek scholarship of Spain, due to the insufficient information of Jebb and Sandys, have been dispelled by the admirable article of Mr. Aubrey Bell on the Spanish Renaissance (published in the *Revue Hispanique*, LXXX). Thanks to Mr. Bell we know that Greek studies, so curiously inconsequential for the literature of the *Siglo de Oro*, were carried on with ardour and profit in the remote townships of Spain, might endanger the health of a scholar's soul as *Amadis de Gaula* endangered that of the general reader, and were adopted as a discipline of life in the true spirit of humanism. But it would be mere blindness to suppose our civilization to be built of Greek and Latin materials alone. There is a third classic, the Hebrew tongue, from which we draw strength and assurance which pagan philosophy is too chilly to supply; it is the sole fount of the simple and the sublime. When we take up, then, after the lapse of centuries García de Matamoros' task *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione*, one important chapter must be that devoted to Spanish Hebraic scholarship.

On a superficial view the rank of Spain, measured by the standard of this third classic, must have been unique in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Apart from scholars and grammarians who wrote under the Caliphate in Hebrew, the distinguished line of biblical translators from the age of Alfonso X to the Bible of Ferrara are a testimony to direct knowledge of the originals which no other nation could boast. Beyond the borders of Spain many of us have learned to esteem the Bible of Casiodoro de la Reyna, completed by Cipriano de Valera, as a treasury of language and scholarship. Its clauses are simple and direct, yet possess the gravity of the Vulgate and ring with a Castilian resonance; the translation advances without hesitation or ambiguity, as on a foundation of assured scholarship. Had this text been allowed to mould Spanish literature as the Authorized

Version has done the English or Luther's Bible the German, how much strained rhetoric, weary involution, and ampulosity might we have been spared!

I do not propose, however, to attempt any general appreciation of this aspect of Spanish scholarship, nor to account for its eclipse in the age of Calderón, but to suggest some more intimate conclusions as to a personage who represents its fine flowering, Fray Luis de León. Some years ago I put together a few notes on his use of the Hebrew Bible, which I laid aside, hoping either to complete them by a more diligent search or to secure the coöperation of a professed Hebraist to refine my conclusions. Various interruptions have sunk both these projects beyond my horizon. I realize that a deep acquaintance with the language and critical literature of Hebrew is required for an appreciation of León's eminence as a scholar; but I venture to offer a few observations *grosso modo*, mainly derived from the *Nombres de Cristo* and the *Perfecta Casada*, in the hope that some other student will be moved to correct my work.

It is to be noted that León himself claims our attention as a theologian and Hebrew scholar, not as a poet or a Grecian. The evidence is strong that his original poetry took a secondary place in his life. He translated the prince of Roman lyrists to learn the essentials of this art; he composed original verses; and then, in the fullness of his powers, he embarked on those renderings of divine poetry, for which all his previous experience was a preparation. León has one constant and unanswerable defence of Poetry: that God Himself has used it in many parts of the sacred book.

"Y pluguiese a Dios," he writes in the preface of his third book containing his translations from Scripture, "que reinase esta sola poesía en nuestros oídos, y que sólo este cantar nos fuese dulce, y que en las calles y en las plazas de noche no sonasen otros cantares, y que en esto soltase la lengua el niño, y la doncella recogida se solazase con esto, y el oficial que trabaja aliviase su trabajo aquí?"

I do not assert that the modern reader is bound to share León's preferences; but it is plain that if he does not know them, he may grievously misjudge his work. The sublime versions of the *Psalms* and *Job* which fill the third part of his *Poesías*, and play such an important rôle in the articulation of *Los Nombres de Cristo*, represent his supreme effort, if not his triumph, as a lyric poet. Nowhere else is his language so bold or his accent so lofty, as when it is inspired by this 'rich and sovereign thought':

"Un rico y soberano pensamiento  
me bulle dentro el pecho;  
a ti, divino Rey, mi entendimiento  
dedico y cuanto he hecho."

Considered as modern lyrics León's psalms are not without *longueurs*, in-consequences, and downright prose, but they are oftentimes lofty in their sincerity. From the smoke of translation there emerge at frequent intervals flashes of the sublime.

His learning in Latin and Greek is subordinate to his Hebraic scholarship, but is still remarkable. Perhaps a couple of observations may be permitted as a digression. The original lyrics reveal the passages that were constantly in his mind; they were few, but deeply felt. The greater odes of Horace, the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* of Vergil (especially before 1576), two chapters of Macrobius, one simile from Lucretius—these are his constant mentors. Other parallels from Greek or Latin authors may be cited, but their use is generally conjectural. These poems give us an impression of the depth of his classical emotion; it is to the prose works that we turn for its breadth. *Los Nombres de Cristo*, a serious attempt to compose the dis-sensions of Christendom, cites profusely the names of patristic writers in Greek and Latin. Their very profusion is suspect. Without doubting León's extensive reading in such works, one may feel that he could amass quotations and authorities quite easily as part of his technical accomplishments as a professor of theology, but that they were not the formative forces in his work. In the *Perfecta Casada* the patristic phalanx is prominent only in the anathema against cosmetics in chapter xii, which so strangely disturbs the balance of this work. In its length and intemperance it is unsuited to its quietly cultured environment, and seems to be better fitted for a pulpit harangue. The "conocimiento harto sorprendente, puesto que él era clérigo, de todo lo que se relaciona con el tocado de las damas", on which Miss Wallace relied for her assertion that "Fray Luis de León manifiesta una penetración admirable respecto del carácter de la mujer", appears to me not merely bookish, but even, if I am right in my view of his patristic scholarship, mugged up for the occasion of this diatribe. When he is writing more at his ease to Doña María Valera Osorio, his authors are more humane: Euripides, Xenophon, Homer, Plutarch, Cicero, Vergil, Sophocles, Ovid; or else they are citations from the Bible. The Fathers appear, indeed, but with much less emphasis. One should note, too, as a mark of the sixteenth century that León does not insult his fair correspondent by apologizing for erudition.

Among the great controversies of León's life—the use of the vernacular for Scriptural instruction, freedom of commentary, and the authority of the Vulgate—the third concerns us here. His struggle with León de Castro is often presented to us as a personal rivalry, and we are the poet's partisans when we ascribe to his opponent 'envy and malice' as dominant emotions.

The biographers do not tell us that the combatants were divided on a point of scholarship that has not received one sole solution; both León and Castro have their rights. Both accepted loyally the Tridentine view that the Vulgate was the sole authorized standard of Catholic belief; but both believed that its text could be made more perfect. León and the *maestrillos* (Martínez, Grajal, Sánchez, etc.) held that emendations should be accepted on the authority of the Hebrew. To this Castro retorted, justly enough, that the Hebrew text is one we owe to Jewish tradition after Christ, and he inferred that it is therefore perilous to the Christian. He argued that the Septuagint was authorized by its use in the New Testament, and in the practice of the early Church; it was from the Septuagint that he drew his emendations. Both parties exceeded their reasonable theses by the intemperance of their language, and Castro went grievously astray in thinking the Jewish tradition to have been a corrupting influence on the text. Yet our own day gives him some support. Now that the Massoretic text is enthroned, scholars seek to remove its remaining imperfections by inference from the Septuagint.

Fray Luis reaches his ultimate position in the commentary on *Job*. In that book he translates from the Vulgate, and uses the Hebrew only in his exegesis; but he endeavours to give his translation from the Vulgate a Hebrew air: "el sentido latino y el aire hebreo". He developed tricks of style for this purpose, such as the disuse of the copula and omission of the article in certain cases. One supposes that this posthumous work was intended to reach a wide public, and, therefore, offered a translation from the only authorized text. Elsewhere León wrote for individuals, as in *La Perfecta Casada* and the *Libro de Los Cantares*, or only with expository intention, as in *Los Nombres de Cristo*. His readers could be supposed to handle their Vulgates or receive adequate instruction in the Scriptures, so that he was himself free to declare the finer meaning of the Hebrew. Strictly speaking, in these works he does not offer a translation, but an explanation. On *Proverbs*, xxxi, 10, he remarks that *rāhōq* means *más*, y *allende y muy alejado sobre* (which is paraphrase rather than translation), and he renders the sense as "dícen en el original en el mismo sentido: *más*, y *allende y muy alejado sobre las piedras preciosas el precio suyo*". But his preferred rendering (*raro y estimado es su precio*) stands closer to the Vulgate: *procul et de ultimis finibus pretium eius*. In the same chapter he remarks that *ḥayil* in *ēsheth-ḥayil* (*mujer de valer*, V: *mulierem fortem*) is a "palabra de grande significación y fuerza, y tal, que apenas con muchas muestras se alcanza todo lo que significa". He mentions as a possible rendering 'varonil', but does not pin himself to any one equivalent. He is not sure of the word the Vulgate renders *spoliis* in verse 11, or *praedam* in 15; and there are inter-

casting details of translation in verses 19, 22 (where he gives a modern touch with the word *holanda*, V.: *byssus*, H *shēsh*), 25, 27, 29. In all of these he holds in view the authorized Latin version, but varies from it with the freedom conferred by lack of plenary responsibility.

This attitude is strikingly exemplified in his treatment of *Psalm lxxviii*, 15. (I cite pages from Professor Onís' edition of *Los Nombres de Cristo*, vol. i):

Hebr.: *har-ēlōhtm har-bāshān har-gabhnunnīm har-bāshān*.

Vulg.: *Mons Dei mons pinguis. Mons coagulatus mons pinguis.*

A. V.: The hill of God is as the hill of Bashan; an high hill as the hill of Bashan.

León, 159: *El monte de Dios, monte enricado y lleno de grossura.*

173: *El monte del Señor, monte cuajado, monte grueso.*

183: *monte cuajado*  
*monte de quesos* (como leyó sant Agustín)  
*monte de corcobas* (como trasladan agora  
alguns)  
*Basan.*

173:

It is clear from the above that León does not pin himself to a final interpretation of either *gabhnunnīm* or *Bāshān*, but does his utmost to embrace all authoritative renderings. The Hebrew text is something richer and more inspiring, in his view, (and as befits the authentic words of God) than any other combination of words. Far from upsetting the Vulgate, the authoritative pronouncement of the Church, León defends the Vulgate *pinguis* against the Hebrew *Bāshān* on the ground that the latter is superfluous to the sense. St. Augustine's version *de quesos* rests on the Hebrew word *gēbhndh*, 'cheese', 'curds' (only the singular is found in Scripture). The rendering *cuajado* is a variant of *de quesos*. To reach the picturesque metaphor in *de corcobas*, the translator must have in mind the adjective *gibbēn*, 'gibbous', 'hunch-backed'. Thus three Hebrew words (*gabhnunnīm*, *gēbhndh* and *gibbēn*) enter into his exegesis of one text, and his comment throws some light on his principles of interpretation:

"La palabra original quiere decir el queso, y quiere también decir lo corcobado, y propiamente y de su origen significa todo lo que tiene en sí algunas partes eminentes e hinchadas sobre las demás que contiene; y de aquí el queso y lo corcobado se llama con aquesta palabra."

They are not one word, but three, and what they have in common is the root *GBN*. León implies, therefore, that words derived from the same root have related meanings which may, or should be, taken into account by the commentator. One notes, in passing, that this passage shows him working in a specifically Augustinian tradition, but without slavish acceptance of St. Augustine's authority, to the neglect of any other. The complete interpre-

tation of MONTE consists of using all these renderings, both individually and taken together.

A more pregnant instance of his method of interpretation is offered by his commentary on *Psalm cx*, 3, one of the crucial passages of his career. He discusses this profoundly corrupt verse, for which no satisfactory emendation has yet been found in *Nombres de Cristo*, I 78 ff., III 37, 71, 174-176,—no less than four times. It was of importance to him, as he thought to deduce from it (against the Lutherans) a proof of the Immaculate Conception. From León de Castro's declaration of Feb. 18, 1572 (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, xxxvii, p. xix, col. 2), we learn that Grajal had used this text as the basis of an attack on the Septuagint, which Castro preferred. The passage was therefore a battle-ground between the *maestrillos* and their opponents; but as for León's explanation, which is untenable, we cannot say whether it was wholly his own or whether it was a joint product by members of his faction. My impression is that it is his own: that León thought he had come on a solution of a text which, while showing up imperfections in the Vulgate and Septuagint, had none the less proved a sore trial to his friends. He thought, moreover, that this explanation was no merely scholastic achievement, but shed an unexpected and brilliant light on a matter of prime importance in contemporary theological debates.

Fray Luis had before him the second Polyglot (Arias Montano's), which offered him the following data:

Hebr.: 'ammēkhā nēdhābhōth bēyōm hēylekhā bēhadhērē-qōdheshe mē-rehem mishhār lēkhā ʔal qalēdhuthekhā.

Jerome: *Populi tui duces spontanei in die fortitudinis tuae, in montibus sanctis de vulva orietur tibi ros adolescentiae tuae.*

Vulg.: *Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae, in splendoribus sanctorum tuorum. Ex utero ante luciferum genuit te.*

Greek: Μερά σου ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου, ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ἁγίων σου. ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγγενήσασε.

Chaldaicae Paraphrasis Translatio: *Populus tuus domus Israel qui lubenter incumbunt Legi, in die quo praelium commiseris adiuuaberis cum eis splendoribus sanctitatis misericordiae Dei; ad te properabant tanquam descensio roris, sedebunt confidenter prosapiae tuae.*

León: *En resplandores de sanctidad del vientre y del aurora contigo el rocío de tu nacimiento.*

The Greek and Vulgate agree on the one hand, against the Hebrew, 'Chaldee' and St. Jerome; but all the authorities agree to separate from each other the words corresponding to León's *ventre* and *aurora*. Fray Luis's explanation, however, requires us to take them together, contrary to all the authorities and the metre of the passage as seen in other verses of the psalm, so as to make an allusion to the Virgin's womb. He ignores the testimony of the



Paraphrase, and, in general, his use of that source is casual and sporadic. But the allusion to the Virgin requires also that León adopt the Vulgate's *tecum*, his own *contigo*, meaning Christ; though according to his own principles, represented here by Arias Montano, he should have followed the Hebrew *'ammēkhā* — *populus tuus*, meaning either Israel or the Church, and so making impossible the reference to the Virgin. As for the Immaculate Conception, he infers that from *resplendores de sanctidad*, which corresponds best with the Hebrew and 'Chaldee', less perfectly with the Vulgate and Septuagint, and not at all with Jerome. Fray Luis's attitude in this passage is eclectic and inconsistent. It is adopted to support a thesis. It is not warranted by his texts, nor does he show in detail how he can emend them. On a reading that was clearly debatable, he took the risk of basing one of the most important of dogmas, and while showing a keen sense of the topical, he displays also a critical gift inferior to that of Montano. And more than this, he was so pleased with this feat of intellectual legerdemain, that he repeated his conclusions four times in the *Nombres de Cristo*.

The Blessed Alonso de Orozco remarks at this point (Onís's ed., i, p. 266):

"También David lo había dicho según está en el original: *En resplandores del sanctidad del vientre, y de la mañana contigo el rocío de tu nacimiento*. Veis aquí cómo claramente se manifiesta este misterio, porque en aquel salmo habla con Cristo, y muy bien compara el vientre de la Virgen a la mañana, porque entonces cae el rocío del cielo y fecunda la tierra."

But this is a conclusion which required many pages of argument in *Los Nombres de Cristo*, whereas the textual difficulties involved are quite unperceived by Orozco. As we are dealing with an error, coincidence in error is an evident proof of identity between the two documents; but we observe that the error belongs to León. León's priority is maintained in all the items of Hebrew scholarship common to the two works, and proves that León is the original and Orozco the copyist. It is a point on which scholars have permitted themselves to entertain doubt, and, for instance, Prof. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and Mr. Bell have held opposite opinions; but it is one which, in my opinion, is capable of definite solution. In his later abstracts Orozco seems to have realized the peril of keeping step with León's exegesis, and prefers to cite texts in the Vulgate version. Making abstracts for his own interest only, Orozco omits or abbreviates passages from the *Nombres de Cristo*, but he also gives others that León must have cancelled before publication (unless they are Orozco's own addenda). He was not acquainted with the poetical chapter *Pastor* (1578?), nor with the decision to insert poetical renderings which the author first announces in *Monte*.

As Fray Luis and his friends were accused of being *judaizantes*, it is to some purpose to see whether his scholarship has a rabbinic origin. He himself declared that, though there was a rabbinic Bible in the University Library at Salamanca, he could not read the commentary which was in rabbinic characters (Rashi). He is aware that cabalistic interpretations may be offered of certain things, such as the letters of a name, but he only once indulges in this exercise—in *Nombres de Cristo*, i, 41-42. In the *tetragrammaton* he discovered proof to the unity and equality of the Holy Trinity in the abbreviated form of three wavs ( , , ): he considers this sign to be an inspired symbol of Trinity in Unity, Triunity. But this is only one of a very large number of abbreviations (see Lauterbach, *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jewish Res.*, 1931,<sup>1</sup> and Prof. Onís's references), and his failure to take other forms into account (such as two letter-forms which are inapplicable to the Trinity) is confirmatory evidence for his want of rabbinic learning. In his scholarship he was clearly no *judaizante*.

Is it possible to make any general pronouncements on León as a scholar and a type of scholarship? He belongs to the last splendors of Spanish Hebrew learning, and already bears marks of loss through severance from the accumulated experience of the Sephardic Jews. Though the *maestrillos* championed an enlightened criticism of the Bible, and León scored a personal success, yet Salamanca appears to have taken the line of León de Castro and no Hebrew learning entered into the preparation of Calderón. Inferior to Sánchez de las Brozas as a Hellenist, we must consider Fray Luis inferior to Montano as a Hebraist. As a translator he lacks scholarly exactness when he admits different renderings for a single verse; he is eclectic, and at times arbitrary. But, on the other hand, he is a very considerable Hebraist, and his commentaries on the poetic books of the Bible, together with his verse-renderings, are lively and valuable to this day. A supreme poet and fine scholar illumines supreme poetry. He is always suggestive, and has a keen sense of the topical. If he wrenches his text it is to prove some doctrine of transcendent importance to Catholics: the nature of the Trinity or the Immaculate Conception. The proof that León gives is more apparent than real in these cases, but it is commended irresistibly by the smooth linking of his sentences, gliding from clause to clause without a moment's impediment; and it is commended by his poetical style rising every now and again into passages of supernal loveliness. Whatever he may have had to cede to Sánchez as a Grecian, to Montano as a Hebraist,

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to the courtesy of Mr. H. J. Loewe, of the University of Cambridge. I owe thanks also to my colleague, Prof. Manson, for corrections in the transcription of Hebrew words.



or to Cano as a theologian, he was no doubt their equal in the variety of his scholarly attainments and he rises far above them as a creator of beautiful thoughts beautifully expressed. Beauty is, perhaps, a higher dimension of truth.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

### NICOLE ORESME'S FIRST WORK IN FRENCH

IT IS a fitting tribute to the sound scholarship of Francis Meunier that considerable additions to our knowledge have not dissipated the general usefulness of his doctoral dissertation on the life and works of Nicole Oresme, published in 1857.<sup>1</sup> The excellence of Meunier's study can not, however, excuse the failure of numerous recent writers, particularly historians and economists,<sup>2</sup> to utilize the new information concerning Oresme which has accumulated during the past three-quarters of a century. A large part of this is readily available in Emile Bridrey's exhaustive study of Oresme's noteworthy contribution to monetary theory, published in 1906.<sup>3</sup> Although the value of this dissertation of 700-odd pages is unfortunately impaired by an inexcusable number of printer's errors, to the extent that dates and spellings must be continually checked and verified, its wide documentation and inclusive survey of practically every aspect of this extraordinary cleric's activities justify its general adoption to supplant Meunier's somewhat antiquated work.<sup>4</sup> However, the solid merit of Bridrey's dissertation does not preclude the occasional intrusion of conjectural statements of a highly controversial nature; and it is to one of the less felicitous of Bridrey's conjectures, which has hitherto passed unchallenged, that I wish to call attention at this time. It concerns in particular the date of writing of Oresme's well-known *Livre de Divinacion* and involves the more interesting and important problem of determining, if possible, which is the earliest of Oresme's extant works in French.<sup>5</sup>

Bridrey's concern with these details arose out of a natural desire to substantiate with documentary evidence, if possible, his contention, supported by ingenious inference, that the French version of Oresme's treatise on money was written as early as 1360.<sup>6</sup> Aware that none of Oresme's French writings had previously been assigned to so early a date, Bridrey conceived himself to be confronted with the dilemma of explaining how an author, whose habitual medium of expression was Latin, could have produced, without some previous experimentation, a French work so thoroughly idiomatic and fluent. His sensitive-

<sup>1</sup> *Essai sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Nicole Oresme* (Paris, 1857).

<sup>2</sup> For example: A. Coville, tome 4 in Lavielle, *Histoire de France*; Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*; G. Coopland, Gaston Dodu and others.

<sup>3</sup> *Nicole Oresme, Etude d'Histoire des Doctrines et des Faits économiques; la Théorie de la Monnaie au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1906).

<sup>4</sup> It is to be regretted that Prof. Bridrey has not yet fulfilled the promise, given at the beginning of his work (note 1, p. 1), to publish a *biographie rectifiée* of Oresme.

<sup>5</sup> Meunier was the first to attempt to assign tentative dates for Oresme's earlier works. His conjectures had hardly been questioned before Bridrey attacked the problem. P. Férret, in his excellent chapter on Oresme, in *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris, Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1896, III, 289-304), scrupulously avoided the subject.

<sup>6</sup> Bridrey discusses this matter at length (*op. cit.*, 55-77).

ness to this real or imagined difficulty was undoubtedly increased by the consciousness of standing in opposition to Meunier and others<sup>7</sup> who, principally for the selfsame reason, had conjectured that the French treatise on money could not have been written before 1368 or only two years before Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, wherein the *Traité des Mutacions des Monnoies* is mentioned by name.<sup>8</sup>

As a matter of fact, the chronology of Oresme's earlier works is extremely difficult to establish, since no dates have been discovered in the extant MS-copies and also because little internal evidence can be deduced from these impersonal scientific tracts. Among the more important and better known of these earlier works are two treatises on astrology, one in Latin bearing the title, *Contra judicarios Astronomos et Principes in talibus se occupantes*,<sup>9</sup> and the other in French, called *Le Livre de Divinacion* or *Traité de Divinacion*.<sup>10</sup> The prologue of this French treatise states: "Et autrefois ay-je escript en latin de ceste matiere." Indeed, although Oresme does not say so, *Le Livre de Divinacion* is in reality a freely rendered version of the earlier Latin treatise. Oresme's apology, in this same prologue, for the quality of his French<sup>11</sup> convinced Meunier that this must be the author's first work in that language, and he assigned its composition to the period between 1361-64.<sup>12</sup> At all events, *Le Livre de Divinacion* seems to have enjoyed great favor among the opponents of judicial astrology. Parts of it have been identified in the Latin of the *Somnium viridarii*,<sup>13</sup> written in 1376; and Eustache Deschamps' *Demonstracions contre Sortileges* has been shown<sup>14</sup> to be a flagrant plagiarism of Oresme's treatise, with 21 out of 23 chapters of virtually identical text. Finally, in 1411 an anonymous translator converted this French work back again into Latin,<sup>15</sup> thus increasing to three the different versions of Oresme's first attack upon the readers of the stars.

Castig about for evidence that by 1360 Oresme was no novice in the use of French, Bridrey discovered in Migne's *Dictionnaire des Manuscrits*<sup>16</sup> the following brief notice of a MS described as follows: "Nic. Oresme, episc. in Normandia, contra Astrologiam sive divinationem, scriptus ab eo anno 1346, e gallico in latinum factus anno 1411." This reference is to a MS in the library

<sup>7</sup> Especially Louis Blancard, "Notice sur la Traduction française du *Traité des Monnoies* d'Oresme" (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Marseille*, 1892), who held that the *Traité* was not translated until the middle of the 15th century. Bridrey easily refutes this extreme position (*op. cit.*, 56-60).

<sup>8</sup> "Et de ce ai-je autrefois dit plus plainement en un traité de mutacions de monnoies" (Book V, ch. x, gloss to *Ethics*).

<sup>9</sup> Unpublished; extant in several MS-copies, notably, B. N. MSS lat. 14580 and 10709.

<sup>10</sup> Unpublished. MS-copies in B. N. mss. fran. 1350 and 19951. Meunier was apparently the first to discover the existence of the French translation. G. Coopland ("Eustache Deschamps and Nicole Oresme," *Romania*, LII, 1926, 355) speaks of preparing an edition of both treatises, but I find no evidence that he has yet done so.

<sup>11</sup> "Quunque je diray, je le soumet à la correction de ceulx à qui il appartient, et supplie que on me ait excusé de la rude maniere de parler: car je n'ay pas apprins ne accoustumé de riens bailler ou escrire en François" (B. N. ms. fran. 19951, f. 1).

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 48.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Coopland, *loc. cit.*, 361.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 359.

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished; first noted by Haenel, *Corp. Lib. Mss.* (Leipzig, 1830, col. 337).

<sup>16</sup> Volume II, item 1502 (Paris, 1814).

of the University of Bâle (Basel),<sup>17</sup> which since it contained nothing immediately related to his subject, Bridrey had no reason to take the trouble to examine. It is the interpretation which he places upon Migne's notice that gives cause for astonishment. He writes: "La Bibliothèque de Bâle possède un manuscrit du traité de divination en français daté expressément de 1346."<sup>18</sup> If this interpretation were correct and the date indicated by Migne could be verified, then *Le Livre de Divinacion* would at once assume priority by at least ten years over all other known works of Oresme whether in French or in Latin. However, in stating that the Bâle MS is in French Bridrey contradicts his own authority, since Migne states specifically, "... e gallico in latinum factus ...", and to this extent Migne's description is exact. The MS in question contains in ff. 48-53v a Latin translation, quite literal, of the *Livre de Divinacion*.<sup>19</sup>

More disastrous for Bridrey's argument is the fact that an examination of the Bâle MS shows Migne's indication of 1346 as the date of the French original to be entirely unfounded. The explicit reads: "Liber magistri Nicholai Oresme de divinacionibus translatus in latinum quia ipsius (*sic*) composuit in gallico scriptus anno Domini mcccxvj die decima septima mensis Decembris. Sed hic scriptus anno 1411<sup>o</sup> ipso die beati Remigii." Evidently Migne, like Bridrey, derived his information concerning this MS at second hand; indeed, the secondary title of the *Dictionnaire des Manuscrits* states that the work is a compilation of catalogues of MSS of the principal libraries of Europe.<sup>20</sup> Migne's notices of MSS in the library of the University of Bâle were taken over bodily from Haenel's *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum*;<sup>21</sup> and it is in Haenel that the original source of misunderstanding appears.<sup>22</sup> Possibly the entry there is a printer's error; but I account for it rather as an attempt by the bibliographer to correct an obviously impossible 1316 into a somewhat more credible 1346. Moreover, the explicit of the Bâle MS is apparently unique; in the only other known copy of this Latin treatise, which is in the Bodleian Library, no dates of any sort are indicated.<sup>23</sup> At any rate, since Nicole Oresme was not born before 1320,<sup>24</sup> it is certain that *Le Livre de Divinacion* was not written in 1316. This does not mean, however, that the Bâle MS is altogether useless for the purpose of dating the composition of this work. It is quite unlikely that the 15th-century copyist who inserted this date would have included the day and month along

<sup>17</sup> Codex, F. V, 6 ff. 48-53v. Full-page text on parchment, 302 x 220mm. Title: *Edicio Magistri Nicholai Oresme contra Astrologiam*. Provenance: "Liber domus Vallis beate Margarete ordinis Cartusienis in Basilea minori, datus eidem per venerabilis memorie Magistrum Henricum Amici in Medicinis Doctorem."

<sup>18</sup> Bridrey, *op. cit.* (note 1, p. 71).

<sup>19</sup> Incipit: "Capitulum primum de artibus quibus inquiritur de occultis. Plures artes seu sciencie sunt per quas scitur de futuris seu occultis; una illarum est astrologia que ut michi videtur habet quasi sex principales partes. Que pars astronomie sit sectanda?"

<sup>20</sup> The full title reads: *Dictionnaire des Manuscrits, ou Recueil de Catalogues de Manuscrits existant dans les principales Bibliothèques d'Europe concernant plus particulièrement les matières ecclésiastiques et historiques* (published as volumes 40 and 41 of Migne's *Nouvelle Encyclopédie théologique*, bound together).

<sup>21</sup> Leipzig, 1830.

<sup>22</sup> Column 537. C. Jourdain, in "Nicole Oresme et les Astrologues à la Cour de Charles V" (*Rev. des Questions historiques*, July, 1875, 136-159), discussed at length the astrological works of Oresme, and noted (p. 146) the discrepancy between dates given in Haenel and in the Bâle MS without attempting to solve the problem. Féret (*loc. cit.*) did not mention the Bâle MS.

<sup>23</sup> Bodleian MS, Can. Misc. ccxlviii, 28.

<sup>24</sup> The best authorities give 1323-30 as the probable period of his birth.

with the year, if he had been following merely his own initiative. In all probability, he transcribed it; and it seems fair to assume that in doing this he omitted by mistake one of the roman numerals present in his original. I am convinced that Haenel suspected this very thing and that he undertook to alter the mcccxvj (1316) found in the Bâle MS into mcccxlvi (1346), in order to bring the writing of *Le Livre de Divinacion* within the bounds of possibility.

Unfortunately, neither Haenel nor Migne nor Bridrey seems to have taken into account the practical difficulty of reconciling this conjectural date of 1346 with certain well-established facts concerning Oresme's life and writings. For instance, we know that Oresme was admitted as a *boursier* in theology to the College of Navarre in the Fall of 1348.<sup>25</sup> Is it even remotely probable that he wrote his Latin treatise, *Contra judicarios Astronomos*, and turned this into French two years before he came from his native Norman city of Caen to begin his studies in Paris? Before Bridrey, no one had supposed that any of his extant works either in Latin or in French were written previous to his reception of the doctorate and appointment as grand master of his college in 1356.<sup>26</sup> Meunier was probably justified in attributing several Latin treatises on mathematics and theology<sup>27</sup> to the following six years during which Oresme remained at the head of Navarre.<sup>28</sup> Doubtless it was his reputation as a mathematician that brought Oresme to the attention of Jean II; and Bridrey argues with cogency that before the battle of Poitiers this King had requested Oresme to write his celebrated treatise *De Mutationibus Monetarum*.<sup>29</sup> Far less convincing is Bridrey's conjecture that the French version of this work was written before 1360,<sup>30</sup> merely because several of Oresme's fiscal theories were incorporated into law in that year.<sup>31</sup> It seems much more likely that the *Traité des Mutacions des Monnoies* was among the numerous translations made for Charles V after he ascended the throne in 1364, for it was not until he became king that Charles began the practice of having French translations made for the use of his counsellors with the purpose of influencing their attitude toward his governmental reforms.<sup>32</sup>

Actually, only one of Oresme's works in French can be said to bear indisputable evidence of having been written before his appointment to the deanship at the Cathedral of Rouen in 1364. This is his French version of Ptolemy's

<sup>25</sup> *Chart. Univ. Paris.* (II, note 3, p. 641).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> An inventory of the library of Amplonius Ratynck, dated 1410-12, preserved at Erfurt and reproduced in *Mittelalterliche Bibl. Kat. Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (II, Munich, 1928), contains (f. 15v, it. 30) titles of several *Quaestiones* attributed to Oresme. These may be identical with the *Determinatio facta in resumpta in domo Navarrrae* (B. N. ms. lat. 16535), noted by Meunier. I have not seen Sloan 2156, ff. 209v-224, which L. Thorndike found to contain an astrological treatise by Oresme entitled *Contra Conjunctionistas de futurorum eventibus*, copied in 1430.

<sup>28</sup> Oresme became canon at Rouen, Nov. 1362, canon at La Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Feb. 10, 1363, and dean at Rouen, March 18, 1364 (cf. *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, loc. cit.). Several of Meunier's conjectures concerning Oresme's earlier writings are based on the false assumption that he became dean at Rouen in 1361.

<sup>29</sup> Bridrey, *op. cit.*, 89.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>31</sup> A. Coville (loc. cit., 195) gives a good résumé of French monetary policy after 1360.

<sup>32</sup> These have been reviewed in detail by G. Dodu, "Les Idées de Charles V en matière de gouvernement" (*Rev. des Questions historiques*, 1929, 5-46).

*Quadripartitum* or *Tetrabiblos*,<sup>33</sup> which both Bridrey and Meunier seem to have ignored in their accounts of his works. In the prologue to his translation of this famous astrological treatise, Oresme refers to Charles V as "hoir de France, à present gouverneur du royaume", thus indicating clearly enough that he was writing during the period between 1357-60 when Jean II was held captive in England and the Dauphin was acting as regent. It is not unreasonable to assume that Oresme was moved to write his first treatise against judicial astrology as a direct result of his study of Ptolemy's work, with the definite purpose of refuting the latter's arguments in favor of the occult sciences, — arguments, by the way, which the Dauphin was inclined to accept only too readily. A comparison of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* with Oresme's *Contra judiciarios Astronomos* provides convincing evidence that the French cleric had Ptolemy's treatise in mind as he wrote;<sup>34</sup> and we may assume that Oresme did not long delay the writing of his refutation of the tract he had been the first to turn into French, if for no other reason than to counteract, if possible, the influence which the latter was certain to exert upon the too credulous mind of the Dauphin.

Accordingly, the treatise *Contra judiciarios Astronomos* may be quite definitely placed about the year 1360,<sup>35</sup> and the *Livre de Divinacion*, derived from it, must be assigned to a date at least as late as 1360 rather than to 1346. Indeed, if the explicit of the Bâle MS is worthy of any confidence whatever, as I believe it is, this must be interpreted in such a manner as will do no violence to the logical sequence of composition indicated by the contents of Oresme's astrological treatises considered as representative of the evolution of his thought in this particular field. I propose, therefore, to interpret the "mcccxcvj" of the Bâle MS as a copyist's error for "mccclxvj", in contradistinction to Haenel's emendation to "mcccxlvi", which conjecture can not be reconciled either with the known facts of Oresme's life or with the evident sequence of his works. In support of this date 1366, several substantial reasons can be advanced. By that time the activity in translating sponsored by Charles V was well under way, and the King's interest in astrology was thoroughly aroused. Two years later he invited Thomas Pisani to become his official astrologer; and in 1370 Oresme entered the controversy again with his second attack against judicial astrology, entitled *Utrum res futurae possint praedicari*.<sup>36</sup> In his *Traité de la Sphere*, written during this same period, Oresme defends himself against the attacks which his opponents had directed at *Le Livre de Divinacion*.<sup>37</sup> The date 1366 has in its favor also the fact that it falls within the period before Oresme became absorbed with the strenuous task of translating Aristotle (1370), but not before he is known to have entered Charles V's service in the rôle of translator

<sup>33</sup> Unpublished (B. N. ms. fran. 1348, ff. 1-13v). Incipit: "C'est le livre quadriparti de Ptholomé avec le comment Haly . . ." Handwriting of the late 14th century, except that a much later hand has added "ce livre fu translé pour Charles V par Guillaume Oresme." In several MSS, well-authenticated works of N. O. are attributed to G. O. (perhaps a brother), who was a student at Navarre in 1352-3 and canon of Bayeux in 1376. Both Féret (*loc. cit.*) and Delachenal (*Hist. de Charles V*, II, 367, n. 1) deny these attributions. The French version of the *Quadripartitum* was first examined by E. de Fréville, "Le Traité de la Sphere par N. O. et les Découvertes maritimes des Normands" (*Rev. des Sociétés savantes*, 1819, 703-29).

<sup>34</sup> Notably at the end of ch. 1, where Oresme follows the order of the occult sciences given by Ptolemy.

<sup>35</sup> On this point critics are generally agreed.

<sup>36</sup> B. N. ms. lat. 15126, ff. 1-39.

<sup>37</sup> G. Coopland, *loc. cit.*, 356.



and interpreter of philosophical and scientific works. Since Oresme repeats elsewhere the apology for his French,<sup>38</sup> there seems to be no foundation for Meunier's contention that such an apology in the prologue of *Le Livre de Divination* proves this to be his earliest work in that language. On this point we may agree with Bridrey<sup>39</sup> that such apologies were pure formalities with no chronological significance.

Placed in proper perspective in relation to Oresme's other astrological treatises, *Le Livre de Divination* appears to be the logical product of a relatively long period of preoccupation with the problems of judicial astrology. This conjecture is confirmed by a plausible interpretation of the evidence furnished by the explicit of the Bâle MS, which points quite convincingly to the year 1366 as the probable date of this translation. On the basis of our present knowledge, only one of Oresme's works in the French language can be assigned with absolute certainty to an earlier date. This is his translation of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*,<sup>40</sup> and until new and contrary evidence is discovered, this may be tentatively considered as Oresme's first work in French.

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#### DIDEROT AND HIS BROTHER

MORE than thirty years ago René Doumic wrote<sup>1</sup> that Diderot was still waiting for his biographer; and it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, and in spite of a biography written by a novelist<sup>2</sup> which appeared last year, that this lacuna is yet to be filled. It is not surprising, therefore, that Diderot's relations with his brother, Didier-Pierre, who was an obscure provincial canon of the Catholic Church in his native city of Langres, have remained in profound oblivion. The purpose of this paper is not to recount the life and achievements of this priest, who established a parochial school at Langres. He has found a patient biographer and violent defender in Canon Marcel, whose various pamphlets, rich with the results of long research in local archives, are, nonetheless, marred by blind prejudice and premature conclusions.<sup>3</sup> Rather it is to show how Diderot, in his dealings with mem-

<sup>38</sup> In the prologue to his *Traité de la Sphère*; the phraseology is almost identical.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, 71, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Oresme did not know Greek. His original of the *Tetrabiblos* was probably the Latin translation made by Plato of Tivoli in 1138.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 oct., 1902, p. 932: "Les Manuscrits de Diderot".

<sup>2</sup> André Billy, *Diderot*, Paris, Editions de la France, 1932. The interesting question of D.'s relations with his brother is entirely neglected in this otherwise lengthy account of the *Philosophe*. Except for the pious and antiquarian resuscitation by Canon Marcel in 1913, the existence of D.'s brother is never noticed by biographers beyond a casual mention.

<sup>3</sup> Chanoine V. Marcel, *Le Frère de Diderot*, Paris, Champion, 1913. A list of Canon Marcel's articles and pamphlets on Diderot, too numerous to give here, will be found in Herbert Dieckmann's *Stand und Probleme der Diderot-Forschung* (Bonn, F. Cohen, 1931, p. 16). It would be easy, by endless quotation from Marcel's book on Didier-Pierre, to justify the criticism of blind prejudice and premature conclusions. From cover to cover Denis Diderot is the bad, ungrateful son, the bad and selfish brother, the bad, unfaithful husband, the bad, unprincipled father—and worst of all, the bad, materialistic philosopher contrasted by that image of Christian piety and charity, his brother. The subsequent publication by Babelon of Diderot's letters, unknown to the Canon when he wrote, has thrown a new light on many of the problems and invalidated his conclusions.

bers of his family, and in particular with his brother in the priesthood, ceased to be the uncompromising critic of many of their cherished ideals. How, in spite of his intellectual emancipation from those ideals of the home, he remained bound by intimate ties of kinship and clan to other members of that family. The story of the conflict between these two brothers, who were so different in character and in their loyalties, adumbrates a larger, but often no less violent conflict that was disrupting French society at that very time. It is also,—curiously enough,—not unlike the subjects which Diderot thought should be the preoccupation of the dramatist: a domestic quarrel revolving about a moral question, in this case whether the bonds of brotherhood are not stronger than any differences in opinion on religious matters—a subject in which the comic and tragic are blended.

Diderot has been described as a Frenchman, indeed as the typical Frenchmen of the lower middle-class, half artisan, half office-clerk, lacking both in delicacy and tact.<sup>4</sup> Still, it is interesting to note that while his *primesautier* temperament seems to express itself in his private correspondence as well as in his published writings in an unreserved fashion, yet his most unguarded confidences and confessions rarely reveal important secrets. How much is hidden from his biographer even in the "indelicate" and "tactless" exuberance of his love letters to Sophie Volland; how little we still know about his early years in Paris! But of his pride in his parents Diderot speaks here and there in his works with that facile emotion which is one of his characteristics. "C'est une bonne race", he sums up.<sup>5</sup> The practical Diderots, firmly attached to the traditions of centuries passed in the same locality as respected members of the cutlery corporation, formed a sharp contrast to the family on the maternal side. The Vignerons were extremely pious people, if one may judge from the number of sons and daughters it gave to the Church;<sup>6</sup> and it was no doubt in part because of this intensely religious atmosphere that Diderot, at the age of 13, received the tonsure as the first step toward the priesthood.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately this was to be his last action that received unqualified paternal approval.

While the elder brother was bringing down upon his head the coals of fire of his father's anger and completing their estrangement, first, by his refusal to become a priest, then by his foolhardy caprice in taking up letters, and, finally, by his determination to marry when he was not making a penny, Didier-Pierre, the younger brother by nine years, was acting the rôle of the model son. In 1744 he took minor orders, later continuing his theological studies in Paris, and in 1746 he was ordained priest. What had been the nature of the relations between the two brothers during and up to this time? How had the future priest looked upon the apostasy and vagabond existence of his brother, his rebellious spirit and secret marriage? Before 1745 there appears to be no docu-

<sup>4</sup> E. Faguet, *Le 18e Siècle*; "Diderot".

<sup>5</sup> *Voyage de Bourbonne*, Ed. Assezat-Tourneux Tome XVII, p. 335.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Marcel, *Le Frère de Diderot*, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Madame Vandeul in her *Mémoires* (Ed. A.-T., tome I, p. XIX) relates the episode in a somewhat different light. She states that it was in order to "inherit" the ecclesiastical title of his uncle, Canon Thomas, that Diderot, with some urging from his father, presented himself for the tonsure. Canon Marcel questions the interested motive and the pressure (*Op. cit.*, pp. 24-34), believing that Diderot felt a call,—a belief we share and which seems to be corroborated by Naigeon when he refers to a later "crisis" (*Encyclopédie méthodique; Philosophie ancienne et moderne*, t. II, p. 154, art. "Diderot").



ment or letter that would answer this question.<sup>8</sup> In that year Diderot published a free translation of Lord Shaftesbury's *Inquiry Concerning Virtue and Merit*, dedicated, in a long letter, to his brother who was on the point of ordination. This is not the place to examine the ideas contained in this book and the noble lord's elegant deism. It may, however, be of interest and to our purpose to know in what disposition of mind Diderot offered his translation to the public and to his brother, for it is obvious that this is not simply a piece of hack-work on the part of the translator, but an expression of personal sympathy for Shaftesbury's ideas on religion, as is evidenced by the numerous notes with which Diderot studded his pages. It marks rather a definite step in the development of Diderot's own ideas. Naigeon<sup>9</sup> wrote of this work: "Le premier des ouvrages de Diderot est une traduction faite à sa manière d'un traité du lord Shaftesbury, auquel il joignit des notes en général plus chrétiennes que philosophiques. Ce moment de ferveur ou plutôt cette espèce de fièvre religieuse ne dura pas longtemps." What is evident in the statement of this extreme materialist, disciple of Diderot's later years, is that the Encyclopedist did go through at this time a religious crisis, a struggle between the formal religion in which he had been brought up and what he considered a more human view of the question. His letter, viewed from these circumstances, is more of an apology than an attack. It is a plea for a more tolerant and generous attitude toward those outside the Church, toward the philosopher and scientist who in the pursuit of knowledge are no enemies of religion. The following, in particular, seems to be for the benefit of his brother:

"Il y a, de la philosophie à l'impiété, aussi loin que de la religion au fanatisme; mais du fanatisme à la barbarie, il n'y a qu'un pas. Par *barbarie*, j'entends, comme vous, cette sombre disposition qui rend un homme insensible aux charmes de la nature et de l'art, et aux douceurs de la société. En effet, comment appeler ceux qui, . . . nés avec cet enjouement qui répand un coloris de finesse sur la raison, et d'amenité sur les vertus, l'ont émoussé, l'ont perdu, et sont parvenus, rare et sublime effort, jusqu'à fuir comme des monstres ceux qu'il leur est ordonné d'aimer? . . . Il ne faut pas être grand raisonneur pour s'apercevoir que tous les efforts de l'incrédulité étaient moins à craindre que cette inquisition. L'incrédulité combat les preuves de la religion; cette inquisition tendait à les anéantir. . . Rappelez-vous l'histoire de nos troubles civils, et vous verrez la moitié de la nation se baigner, par piété, dans le sang de l'autre moitié, et violer, pour soutenir la cause de Dieu, les premiers sentiments de l'humanité; comme s'il fallait cesser d'être homme pour se montrer religieux."<sup>10</sup>

We may well ask here: What sort of a man was this to whom Diderot addresses so touching and sincere an appeal? Mme Vandeul, who was certainly an interested party and anxious, if possible, to give the fine rôle to her father, described her uncle in these terms. "Mon oncle a fait ainsi que mon père ses

<sup>8</sup> Canon Marcel quotes, in his pamphlet entitled *Le Mariage de Diderot* (Largentière [Ardeche], Imprimerie E. Mazel, 1928, p. 5) from a manuscript memoir of Didier-Pierre, a remark which is supposed to be most damaging for Diderot to whom it is applied. "Je ne dis rien", writes Diderot's brother, "de sa conduite en arrivant à Paris, j'en ai déjà trop dit." This memoir was written, according to Canon Marcel, about 1762, when relations between the two brothers were further strained by difficulties which arose in settling their father's estate.

<sup>9</sup> *Encyclopédie méthodique*, t. II, p. 154.

<sup>10</sup> *Essai sur le Mérite et la Vertu; Lettre à mon Frère*, Ed. A.-T., t. I, p. 9 et pass.

études aux Jésuites. Violent, vif, plein de connaissances théologiques, il mit à la rigueur cette maxime de l'Apôtre: Hors l'Eglise point de salut. Il s'est brouillé avec mon père parce qu'il n'était pas chrétien, avec ma mère parce qu'elle était sa femme; il n'a jamais voulu embrasser mes enfants parce qu'ils étaient ses petits-fils; et mon époux, qu'il recevait avec bonté, a trouvé sa porte fermée depuis que je suis devenue sa femme. Il a été attaché à M. de Montmorin, évêque de Langres, pendant toute sa vie; il est chanoine de la ville, et il jouit d'un prieuré assez considérable pour lequel il a eu un procès que mon père a arrangé avec des peines incroyables. Plus il est injuste et plus je crains de le calomnier. Il a toutes les vertues qui tiennent du père dont il est né. Son revenu appartient aux pauvres."<sup>11</sup> In the *Correspondance* of Grimm, March 1771, one reads of the Canon: "Un fils cadet qui a pris le parti de l'Eglise; il est chanoine de l'église cathédrale de Langres et un des grands saints du diocèse. C'est un homme d'un esprit bizarre, d'une dévotion outrée et à qui je crois peu d'idées et de sentiments justes. Le père aimait son fils aîné d'inclination: et son fils cadet de réflexion, par respect pour l'état qu'il avait embrassé." Canon Marcel has erected a monument to the founder of the parochial school, to the helper of the poor; but he has also brought out in his biography that his ecclesiastical predecessor had frequent differences with his superiors, who, on a number of occasions, had to reprimand him; and that his brusque uncompromising attitude made him a hard person to get along with.<sup>12</sup>

In connection with the litigation over the benefice of the priory of Riamcourt, mentioned by Mme Vandeuil in the passage quoted above, Diderot, as stated by his daughter, did go to considerable trouble to settle the dispute for his brother.<sup>13</sup> We have the proof in a series of letters which he wrote to his brother from Paris beginning July 17, 1756. The case is too complicated to outline here. Suffice it to say that it had two titulars, one by appointment, the Canon; the other a successor *in favorem*. Diderot writes to his brother of the arrangements he has proposed for the settlement of the dispute, and concludes with these words: "Et surtout qu'en cas de refus, on ne procède pas contre M. le chevalier de Piolenc sans que j'aie pu le prévenir. Cette infraction de trêve seroit un trop mauvais procédé. Bonjour, portez-vous bien; je vous embrasse; et surtout ne plaidez pas; un honnête ecclésiastique comme vous a quelque chose de mieux à faire."<sup>14</sup> But the Canon, who had taken a degree in Church law and who, from 1746 to 1758, acted as secretary to the Bishop of the diocese, in which office he was often called upon to defend the cases of the Church, was not satisfied with the arrangements, and insisted upon proving his legal rights in court. Diderot, losing patience, writes: "Vous m'avez écrit la lettre d'un plaideur et d'un fanatique. Si ce sont là les deux qualités que donne votre religion, je suis très content de la mienne, et j'espère n'en point changer. Quant au besoin que vous croyez qu'on en a pour être honnête homme, si vous sentez ce besoin, tant pis pour vous."<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the Encyclopedist detected in his

<sup>11</sup> *Mémoires*, p. lviii.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Marcel, *Le Frère de Diderot*, ch. XI.

<sup>13</sup> Canon Marcel, in his efforts to demonstrate the untrustworthiness of Mme Vandeuil's *Mémoires*, denies D.'s intervention on behalf of his brother in this case. D.'s recently published letters once more prove that her assertions are, in the main, correct.

<sup>14</sup> Diderot, *Correspondance inédite*, vol. II, p. 147, Ed. Babelon, N. R. F., Paris, 1931.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 147.

brother's letter too much casuistry; he urged him to give up the idea of suing, since his case was not very strong after all. The case dragged on for some years, until it was finally settled agreeably to both parties.

These letters do not reveal the profound causes of the abyss which separated the two brothers, but its incidental consequences. There are hints, however, of the real cause in Diderot's reproaches of fanaticism, of casuistry and of insistence upon strict legal equity. The whole matter, the clash of two temperaments diametrically opposed, was to come to a head during an exchange of letters over the publication of Diderot's play *Le Fils Naturel*. It is necessary to quote from this letter in order to show the conciliatory tone of the elder brother. "J'apprens, cher frère, que mon dernier ouvrage vous a donné beaucoup de chagrin. Si cela est, je voudrais ne l'avoir point fait. Je ne suis pas assez jaloux de la gloire littéraire pour préférer cette fumée, à la tranquillité d'un frère. Soyez sûr que l'approbation de tout l'univers sur une chose aussi indifférente qu'une comédie, n'équivaut pas, à mon jugement, un moment de votre peine." He then asks that his brother tell him frankly what has displeased him in the play so that he may justify himself and the play. And in conclusion he writes: "Si on a vu quelque sujet de scandale dans (mon ouvrage), c'est qu'il est le mien; c'est que j'ai des ennemis; c'est qu'on ne me juge pas comme un autre. Tant pis pour les autres. Je vous salue, je vous embrasse et je vous aime."<sup>16</sup> On the reverse side of this letter the Canon wrote a reply in which he refuses to enter into a discussion about the play in which he found many criticisms of religion, since he knew that his brother would only accuse him of being a fanatic.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the point at issue, the cause which separated these two brothers by an unbridgeable gulf of different opinions and loyalties.

While the brothers seemed to be drifting apart, Diderot's relations with other members of his family steadily improved. For six years, that is, until 1749, the year Diderot was imprisoned at Vincennes for the publication of his *Lettres sur les Aveugles*, the secret of his marriage was kept from his father. It was about this date that Didier Diderot was informed of his son's secret marriage, and a short time afterwards of the birth of a granddaughter. These events, added to the growing literary success of the writer,—the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* appeared in 1751—brought about a reconciliation between father and son; but beyond the fact that Diderot had made his filial peace, and that he consulted his father on the contract that he was about to sign with his publishers, we possess no information as to how this reconciliation was achieved. No doubt, it was simply a question of paternal pride over the success of the son, and in spite of the audacity and revolt implied in that success. If one may believe Mme Vandeul, Didier Diderot could not hide his preference for his elder son. "Hélas," he is reported as saying by his granddaughter,<sup>17</sup> "j'ai deux fils, l'un sera sûrement un saint, et je crains bien que l'autre ne soit damné, mais je ne puis vivre avec le saint et je suis très heureux du temps que je passe avec le damné".

In 1759 their father died, leaving a considerable estate in lands and other properties. In his will, the elder son, as may be expected, was not forgotten;

<sup>16</sup> Diderot, *Correspondance inédite*, vol. II, pp. 147-148.

<sup>17</sup> Unpublished letter, of July 7, 1816, to Meister, quoted by Babelon (*Corres. inéd.*, vol. II, p. 46).

and, in order to execute the terms of the will as head of the house, Diderot was obliged to go to Langres. For a time it appeared that the two men were to be brought together by the death of their father. The event is told in Diderot's letters of this time to Sophie Volland. This reunion permits Diderot to study and analyze the character of his sister and brother: "D'abord, il m'est impossible d'imaginer trois êtres de caractères plus différents que ma sœur, mon frère et moi. Seurette est vive, agissante, gaie, décidée, prompte à s'offenser, lente à revenir, sans souci ni sur le présent ni sur l'avenir, ne s'en laissant imposer ni par les choses ni par les personnes; libre dans ses actions, plus libre encore dans ses propos; c'est une sorte de Diogène femelle. . . L'abbé est né sensible et serein. Il auroit eu de l'esprit; mais la religion l'a rendu scrupuleux et pusillanime. Il est triste, muet, circonspect et fâcheux. Il porte sans cesse avec lui une règle incommode à laquelle il rapporte la conduite des autres et la sienne. Il est gênant et gêné. C'est une espèce d'Héraclite chrétien, toujours prêt à pleurer sur la folie de ses semblables. Il parle peu, il écoute beaucoup: il est rarement satisfait. Doux, facile, indulgent, trop peut-être, il me semble que je tiens entre eux un assez juste milieu. Je suis comme l'huile qui empêche ces machines raboteuses de crier lorsqu'elles viennent à se toucher. Mais qui est-ce qui adoucira leurs mouvements quand je n'y serai plus. Je crains de les rapprocher, parce que si elles venoient un jour à se séparer, ce seroit avec éclat."<sup>18</sup>

Diderot's prediction was to be realized. Denise, his sister, and the Canon, who had arranged to live in the same house, were, by reason of their diversity of character, to separate eventually, notwithstanding the mediation of Diderot in their quarrels. The details of the division of the estate were, in the meanwhile, settled to the apparent satisfaction of every one. Their leave-taking, which was to be very touching in its final expressions of mutual love and affection, was marred by a minor accident. When the Canon saw Diderot packing his trunks he complained that he had not been informed of his brother's intention of leaving so soon, that it had all been decided between Diderot and his sister, that they had neglected him, concealed everything from him, in short that they did not love him. Diderot protested his innocence, did his best to smooth over the misunderstanding. Dinner was being served to three silent people, each ten feet from the table: Diderot sadly holding his head in his hands, his sister in the attitude of one trying to sleep, the Canon uncomfortably turning in his chair. When the servants had left, Diderot spoke, reminding them of the promises they had made over the dead body of their father, pleaded with them in the name of their love and the grief they were causing him. He took his sister's hand, trying to bring about a reconciliation; but she answered: "I know my brother's nature: he is always suspecting plots. He is unsociable. Let me go to bed." And the Canon on his side felt the futility of a reconciliation. But the elder brother was not to be put off, and seeking the assistance of a priest who was a friend of the family, he finally succeeded in making the two quarrelsome people shake hands. The next morning the Canon came to Diderot's room, this time to complain about his brother's hostility to the Church. The Philosopher sought to pacify his brother, denied any intention to hurt anyone, asked his forgiveness if he had done so. However great Diderot's desire to live in harmony with his brother was, it did not prevent him from criticizing

<sup>18</sup> Diderot, *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, Ed. Babelon, Paris, NRF, 1930, vol. I, pp. 51-2.

and deploring the changes which had taken place in his brother since he had become a priest. He writes his true opinion to Sophie Volland: "...il n'y a pas un homme de sa robe que j'estime plus que (mon frère). Il est sensible; il est vrai qu'il se le reproche; il est honnête, mais dur. Il eût été bon ami, bon frère, si le Christ ne lui eût ordonné de fouler aux pieds toutes ces misères-là. C'est un bon chrétien qui me prouve à tout moment qu'il vaudrait mieux être un bon homme, et que ce qu'ils appellent la perfection évangélique n'est que l'art funeste d'étouffer la nature, qui eût parlé en lui peut-être aussi fortement qu'en moi."<sup>19</sup> With parting pleas for tolerance Diderot set out for Paris, with a cold chicken tucked away in his hamper by the loving hands of his sister, to return and take up his work on the *Encyclopédie*.

The following year Diderot published his apology for the Abbé de Prades whose thesis, *The Celestial Jerusalem*, at first accepted by the Sorbonne in 1751, was later condemned by Parliament at the request of the Jesuit order because of certain heretical opinions enunciated in it on the subject of the Bible and the miracles. The affair is highly complicated because of the anonymity of many of the articles written in its defense as well as in its condemnation. The exact part that Diderot played in this debate is not altogether clear on some points. What is of special interest for our study of the relations between the two brothers at this time is a letter which Diderot published in 1760 as a supplement to his *Apologie* and which he addressed to his brother on the eve of a new year. The letter is much too long to permit of quotation here. It is a dispassionate plea, supported by learned quotations from the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, for tolerance in religious matters. Its tone may be gathered from a few passages: "L'esprit ne peut acquiescer qu'à ce qui lui paraît vrai: le cœur ne peut aimer que ce qui lui semble bon. La contrainte fera de l'homme un hypocrite s'il est faible, un martyr s'il est courageux. Faible ou courageux, il sentira l'injustice de la persécution, et il s'en indignera."<sup>20</sup> And so on for six pages. In anticipation, we may add that, as a crowning touch, the contents of this letter were later incorporated by Diderot in his article on Intolerance in the *Encyclopédie*.

It is obvious that the rupture between the two men is complete. The ephemeral peace made after the death of their father vanishes before the profound temperamental and intellectual differences that divide them. In 1760 the priest was appointed General Propagandist of the diocese of Langres, in which office he was required to check the spread of materialistic philosophy in the province. One may well imagine the difficult position and grief of this priest whose brother's continued writings and growing influence he was called upon to combat. One of the steps he was to take to achieve this end was to demand of his brother to cease making further attacks against the Church and to recant publicly all that he had previously written. This last request met with the flat refusal and the justification in the *Lettre* we have quoted from above. From then until 1770 nothing more was attempted on either side to patch up their discord.

It was in mid-July, 1770, that Diderot made a stop at Langres on his way to Bourbonne in the company of his friend Grimm. A reconciliation was nego-

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 71.

<sup>20</sup> *Lettre à mon Frère*, vol. I, p. 485, Ed. A.-T.

ciated by common friends. When Diderot learns that his brother wishes to come to an understanding with him, he writes that he welcomes the chance with joy. He reproaches the priest for having shunned him and his family for so long. "On ne se résout pas à rompre avec les siens, et un homme sensé ne fait pas durer dix ans une rupture, sans en avoir les plus fortes raisons." What, therefore, are his brother's reasons, Diderot asks in order that he may answer them. "Seroit-ce par hasard que vous auriez persisté, malgré mes protestations réitérées, à croire que j'avois manqué à la promesse que je vous avois faite de garder un silence public et particulier sur mes opinions? Est-ce que vous me connoissez menteur? Lorsque je vous disois: 'Mon frère, je ne suis point à l'abri des imputations calomnieuses: on m'attribuera des ouvrages que je n'aurai point faits, des propos que je n'aurai point tenus; mais j'espère que vous ajouterez foi plutôt à la parole d'un frère vrai, homme de bien, qui n'a aucun intérêt à vous dissimuler la vérité. . . Je n'ai point et je n'eus jamais la folie du prosélitisme. Je pense pour moi et je pense pour moi seul. Je laisse les autres dans leurs sentiments. Je ne me souviens plus de la datte, de la promesse que je vous ai faite, mais si vous découvrez jamais que j'y ai manqué, je vous permets de me tenir pour le plus malhonnête homme du monde.'" Diderot declares that he is making no mental reservations when he states that he has not written or spoken against religion, but that what he is willing to concede to brotherly entreaties, he will not do when menaced. He reminds his brother that he is constantly being accused of writing anti-clerical books which he has not even read or seen, that he is on friendly terms with many important prelates in Paris. "Les mœurs, les mœurs, cher abbé, voilà la seule chose sur laquelle il soit permis aux hommes de nous juger dans ce monde-cy; il faut abandonner le reste à la miséricorde, à la justice, à la balance de Dieu. Fuyez le méchant, entendit-il autant de messes qu'on en dit dans toutes les églises du royaume, embrassez l'homme de bien, quelle que soit sa façon de penser."<sup>21</sup>

Certain statements in this letter, frequently referred to, have given rise to various and conflicting interpretations. It is customary to mention that Diderot was an inveterate denier of his own literary progeny, as is proved by his sworn testimony before judges at the time of his detention at Vincennes, in which he disclaims the authorship of a number of works which we now know he wrote. The evidence is correct, but it does not prove that in this instance Diderot was insincere or making promises in bad faith. On the contrary this strange letter offers an explanation for a fact that has often puzzled Diderot's biographers, namely, that most of the works by which he is known to-day were not published during his life. This fact is usually explained by saying that Diderot was anxious not to compromise the authorization which had been granted his editors,—and which had several times been suspended,—to publish his life work, the *Encyclopédie*, by printing any works which might jeopardize its toleration. Is it not just as plausible to say that Diderot was thereby keeping his promise in the manner that he felt himself bound by that promise? Moreover, why should he have solemnly given his word, in the name of everything that he claimed to hold sacred, when it would have been just as simple to refuse to bind himself voluntarily to any proposed conditions of fraternal peace? Whatever view is taken on this question, this letter shows that however emanci-

<sup>21</sup> *Correspondance inédite*, vol. II, p. 150, et pass.



pated Diderot became from the ways of thinking of other members of his family, however violently in opposition to it at various times in his life he became, he always felt the need to return to the family hearth. When a long silence intervened in his relations with that family, he suffered keenly and always tried to reënter the household without being able, in spite of his concessions, to conceal the subject of their perpetual discord. The religious question was the essential cause of this rift, but it overflowed and poisoned every small difficulty that arose. Normally, a man in Diderot's position would have accepted the inevitable, would have avoided or glossed over these difficulties which prevented harmony. But Diderot constantly felt the necessity of excusing himself, of justifying his opinions before his family. The result was always disastrous, as it was to be in this attempt at reconciliation.

Mme Vandeul has related in her *Mémoires* what she considers the cause of this failure: "Un abbé Gauchat, objet des plaisanteries de Voltaire, tenta de rapprocher les deux frères; mon père fit toutes les avances quoiqu'il fût son aîné. Le chanoine lui demanda une promesse de ne plus écrire contre la religion, mon père s'y engagea par une lettre qu'il lui écrivit; il exigea qu'elle fût imprimée et que mon père y ajoutât une rétraction de tout ce qu'il avait fait précédemment; mon père refusa, et la négociation fut au diable."<sup>22</sup> What is more, Diderot's sister, Denise, who had also acted as a mediator in this delicate affair, was to bring down upon herself, as a reward for her services, the hatred and enmity of her brother, the Canon. If the hoped-for reunion failed, they continued, nevertheless, to carry on a correspondence in which Diderot on his side made repeated efforts to make his position clear to his uncompromising clerical brother, tried to humanize the intransigent attitude of the Canon which was to find renewed expression when Diderot was carrying on arrangements for the marriage of his daughter with Nicolas Caroillon de Vandeul. The Vandeuls were old family friends who, like the Diderots, had long been established in Langres. Socially and from the standpoint of material fortune, the Vandeuls were highly acceptable; and Diderot was making an excellent match for his daughter in marrying her to Nicolas. But the Canon refused to countenance the alliance on the grounds that the young man's views on religion were not orthodox. "Je n'ai pu savoir de M. Caroillon quelle est sa religion," the Canon writes to his brother in a letter of Nov. 14, 1772. "Je l'ai mis dans la nécessité de me faire connaître ses sentiments. Il est encore à me répondre. Il est plus hardi dans la compagnie des jeunes libertins et s'y montre un gendre digne de vous. C'est la réflexion de ceux qui l'ont entendu débiter vos maximes."<sup>23</sup> And about the same time he writes to his sister that what he disliked most about the projected marriage was the lack of religion on the part of the young man.

The complete estrangement and hostility visible in these words became something of a public scandal when, in 1780, the city of Langres, having received a set of the *Encyclopédie* from its mayor, voted in the municipal council to ask its editor to send them his portrait. Diderot responded by offering his bust by Houdon. To celebrate in a fitting fashion the success of their fellow-citizen and the unveiling of the bust, a ceremony was organized in the municipal chambers at which the Canon, ironically invited, was conspicuous by

<sup>22</sup> Vandeul, *Mémoires*, p. lix.

<sup>23</sup> Marcel, *La Mort de Diderot*, p. 23 (Paris, H. Champion, 1925).



his absence. One might expect that the death of Diderot which occurred four years later would have softened the bitterness of the Canon's feelings; but this was not so. If we may believe Mme Vandeul,—who in the main is correct in her assertions,—after the death of her father, the Canon asked for any papers that Diderot may have left, "pour les jeter au feu." She replied that all that he had left in the way of literary remains had been sent to Russia with his personal library which Catherine II had bought.<sup>24</sup> This answer quieted him somewhat, but still in perpetual fear that the evil already done needed a more forceful and energetic remedy, in the year following his brother's death, the Canon founded at Langres the first parochial school in which the youth would be taught the true way and shown the wickedness of Diderot's egregious errors.

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### JEAN SARMENT AND THE FRENCH THEATRE

THE American public seems to be indifferent to the playwright who is heralded by French critics as the most remarkable of the younger dramatists in France and the writer who has made the most significant contribution to the modern theatre.<sup>1</sup> We Americans have a close, if fortuitous, connection with the début of the young actor and author, Jean Sarment, for it was during his stay in New York with the troupe of the Vieux Colombier in the season of 1917-1918<sup>2</sup> that he wrote his first comedy. This play was destined to bring a new note into the French theatre in the midst of the stagnating post-War period.

When this youth of 21 presented his MS of *La Couronne de Carton* to Lugné-Poë, who is always tireless in his encouragement of new talents, the latter grasped immediately the importance of the play and produced it at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in February, 1920. A few months later it was awarded the *Prix Hervieu* by the French Academy, and recently its glory has been definitely consecrated by its production at the Comédie-Française on March 19, 1934. The critics of 1920 had mingled much reserve in their commentaries on the play. They said that, with all its tumultuous literary souvenirs — for they had immediately recognized the influence of Musset, Stendhal, Jules Laforgue, Shakespeare — it lacked clarity and simplicity, promised great things which it did not fulfill, and that its undisciplined author would succeed only on condition that he impose upon himself the most severe rules of the theatre. More perspicacious than his fellows, Robert de Flers, in a long article in *Figaro*, gave an enthusiastic analysis of the important contributions of *La Couronne de Carton*. He recognized that what is apparently obscure and vague action is in reality a veil

<sup>24</sup> Vandeul, *Mémoires*, p. lix.

<sup>1</sup> Except for a short, sympathetic article by Mr. F. V. Keys, in the *Yale Review* in the Spring of 1929, I believe nothing has been written about M. Sarment in this country.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Keys writes thus of Jean Sarment as an actor: "Those who were among the too few frequenters of the Vieux Colombier during its New York season in 1917 and 1918, will recall the exquisite surprise, as of a window in the mind opened to the breath of poetry, which accompanied his entrance upon the stage." Claude Berton, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note, in *La Femme en France*, when he declares that Sarment, and other actor-authors (Colette, Tristan Bernard, etc.) are entirely lacking in artistic temperament and do themselves great harm when they act in their own plays (Quoted by Jean Larnac, *Colette, sa Vie, son Œuvre*, Simon Kra, 6e édit., p. 173).

covering an ardent inner-life of the spirit. He admired the dialogue, of which not a line is banal or vulgar; he saw that its merit lies in its very indecision and in the possibility of various interpretations, which are characteristic signs of rich, new works. He distinguished especially the Stendhalian influence in the doubling of the personages and in their almost unhealthy self-analysis. When it underwent the difficult test of being performed at the house of Molière 16 years after its creation, its historical importance was finally realized. In 1920, as Lugné-Poë puts it in a recent article in *L'Avenir*, critics were groaning over the poverty of the pre-War writers, who were still clinging to the poetic school of Henry Bataille and to the *théâtre d'amour* of Porto-Riche. Then came Jean Sarment, so vitally new and personal in spite of his literary reminiscences. He presented, by means of an apparently undisciplined dialogue, a more and more intense study of the inner-life and of the powerless aspirations of a nostalgic soul, who is unwilling to make a compromise between his ideals and what life has to offer him. *La Couronne de Carton* is, in fact, the recital of a young prince who goes out into the world incognito in the hope of satisfying the hunger of his soul. Under a mask of cynicism and indifference, he hides a poet's sensitiveness and idealism, and refuses to accept a happiness which the world offers him because it is based upon a false self which others attribute to him. "Je passe pour un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et fort insensible, roué même . . . J'ai aimé éperdument." This quotation at the head of the play places it under the protection of Stendhal.

The following extract from the dialogue between the prince and his preceptor, Saunières, gives an idea of how the simplest language from Sarment's pen may reveal hidden drama full of uncertainties and longings, or, rather, it shows that the real emotions are communicated to us almost without the aid of words, thus allowing us to penetrate into the very recesses of the subconscious self:

"Le Prince.—Vous croyez, n'est-ce pas, que j'ai raison d'aller vivre dans le monde?"

"Saunières.—Mais oui, parce que vous le désirez beaucoup.

"Le Prince.—Vous croyez que . . . que 'cela ira bien'?"

"Saunières.—Mais oui . . .

"Le Prince.—Dites? Le monde n'est pas si terrible?"

"Saunières.—Mais non . . . Il n'est pas terrible. Ce n'est pas lui qui est à redouter. Ce n'est pas avec lui qu'on a à compter. C'est avec soi.

"Le Prince.—Alors?"

"Saunières.—Alors, je pense que vous n'accepterez pas d'être au-dessous de vous-même."

M. Sarment has already an important literary baggage. Besides some poetry and a novel or two, he has written a dozen plays, most of which have met with notable success with the critics and at the box-offices. He is one of the few young French playwrights whose plays have run into hundreds of performances and have been revived after a period of years. Ten years ago the Comédie-Française opened its doors to his *Je suis trop grand pour moi*, whose second and third acts, however, do not fulfill the promise of the magnificent first act. The Odéon has welcomed several plays; others of lighter vein — *Madelon*, *Sur mon beau navire*, *Le Plancher des Vaches* — were written for the boulevard theatres. Two advance-guard theatres, L'Œuvre and the Théâtre Antoine, have produced

still others. At the *première* of *Léopold le Bien-Aimé*, at the Comédie des Champs-Élysées, actors related in the wings that it had been refused at the Comédie-Française, and they smiled, a little ironically, on thinking how often the famous *comité de lecture* makes a mistake in its judgment. *Léopold* is, in fact, one of the most delightful versions of the Sarment theme. The middle-aged hero's petty misanthropy, which he shows in the most amusing ways, comes from a thwarted youthful love-affair. Then suddenly the recovery of some long lost letters from the dead-letter office leads him to believe that Marie-Thérèse really had loved him, and so, at 50, life becomes suddenly all rosy, — *Léopold le bien-aimé* loves all the world and thinks that all the world is in love with him. He sends to Paris for gay ties and handkerchiefs to match, and spends his time playing Hawaiian music on the phonograph and making love to the young girls and spinsters who cross his path. But, in the end, he finds that the letters were not as he had thought them, and that he was not, after all, the *bien-aimé*. Everything is spoiled, then repaired by his practical-minded abbot-brother. Sarment, as Molière, does not hesitate to base his slender plot on a misunderstanding, provided that the verity of the feelings is observed. Like Jules Romains, Sarment often delights in mystifications, as in his recent drama, *Peau d'Espagne*, where a *demi-mondaine* plays the rôle of a Spanish beauty and a silk-merchant of Lyons that of an English lord, only to find themselves cruelly alone after their dreams crash.

One of the most poignant studies of the disillusioned hero, who suffers from his disillusionment, is *Le Pêcheur d'Ombres*. A young poet, who has become mad from suffering caused by the indifference of the girl he loved, amuses himself by fishing for *ombres* (a kind of trout). His reason slowly returns through the tender affection of the once indifferent Nelly, but breaks again under the load of returning suffering. The play hovers between the poetic and the real, and covers with mysterious beauty the pain-torn soul whose intense inner-life is brusquely revealed at intervals. All the other characters of the play are in a lesser degree portraits of the nostalgic person whose life might have been gloriously better: the delicately depicted mother; the bishop, who every day has burned with his incense many dreams; the cruelly selfish and blind brother, who, as the poet keenly observes, spends his life swimming in a pool from which he cannot escape; and, finally, Nelly, who, too late, recognizes that happiness has passed close by.

Antoine recently heralded Sarment as the author of *Les Plus Beaux Yeux du Monde*, "de triomphante mémoire" and evoked the charms of a talent made of youth, freshness and poetic grace.<sup>3</sup> This comedy, written four years before and refused by other theatres, was performed in 1926 in a hall newly made into a theatre by the newspaper, *Le Journal*, in the rue Richelieu, a street where the Paris theatre-public was not in the habit of going. In spite of the obstacles, the public found its way during many months to the Théâtre du Journal to applaud the creation of probably the most seductive of Sarment heroes. The poor poet-dreamer, Napoléon, — familiarly called "Napo" by his wealthy friend, Arthur, — through a feeling of inferiority, gives up the girl they both love. Years pass. Napoléon has refused to compromise his art in order to gain an easy success and has been reduced to the most humiliating tasks to win a livelihood. His life

<sup>3</sup> Antoine, *Le Théâtre*, Paris, Les Editions de France (*La Troisième République de 1870 à nos jours*), 1933, 2 vol., in-8, t. II, p. 429.

has had no meaning, no aim, because it lacked a companion. Arthur has become a fêted author of the hour and has pushed aside Lucie, because "les plus beaux yeux du monde" have become blind. Napoléon comes to visit Arthur, finds only Lucie, who, because of her blindness, does not guess Napoléon's defeat or his sufferings; he discovers her sorrow, stays long enough to give back to her the joy of living, and, upon Arthur's return, makes him ashamed of his neglect of Lucie, reunites them and passes out of their lives . . .

The contribution of Sarment, then, is a very personal romanticism composed of poetic fantasy, disenchantment and strife for an impossible happiness, the whole expressed in a surprisingly fresh and unstudied dialogue, full of mystic sadness and subtle humor. And even when Sarment's characters assume a more palpable consistency and fresh humor tears away the veil of mysterious unreality (*Le Discours des Prix*), the hero still suffers from his *destin manqué*. The romantic unhappiness in these plays is often made poignant because contentment is within one's reach. The hero of *Sur mon beau navire* explains for his fellows their inability to seize their happiness when he says: "Je suis un timide. Il me fallait toute la vie devant moi et que ma vie n'eût plus devant elle que dix minutes." *Je suis trop grand pour moi* could be made the title of Jean Sarment's theatre. The pathetically ridiculous Virgile, who has admired himself for 40 years, is typical of the nostalgic dreamer who awakens to the cruel realization that he will never be as great as his dream. Jean Sarment's plays have an illusive charm for all of us who have cherished secret dreams, dreams that are all the more dear because they were too big for us.

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#### MORE ON TROBAR E ENTENDRE

Since the publication of my article, "A Preliminary Study of *Trobar e entendre*, an Expression in Mediaeval Aesthetics" (ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, 1932, p. 129), a number of examples have come to strengthen materially the case concerning this expression and its explanation. The same general pattern is adopted for the arrangement of the citations in this note as in the article mentioned.

First, we have *trobar* and *entendre* in close juxtaposition:

- 1) "... totz homs q'i be l'entendra ni aia bon cor de trobar" (*Razos*, p. 69).

That this is a formula seems to be made more plausible in this instance by the fact that *entendre* is used in connection with another verb, *dire*, which is of technical significance (cf. *supra*, Ex. 10):

- 2) "Ki bealz mox seit dire et entendre,  
Bien les doit conter et aprendre  
A celz ki les vuelent oir" (*Durmart le Galois*, Ed. Stengel, Tübingen, 1873, v. 1ff).

If *entendre* had its usual meaning 'hear' or 'understand', it is difficult to see how the passage could be translated, since, one would think, it is not necessary for a person to tell a thing so that he might understand it himself, despite the well-known experience that teaching often teaches the teacher his subject. If, on the other hand, *entendre* implies arrangement or organization of the sort dis-

cussed in my article, the whole idea is clearer, for even if *entendre* does so curiously follow *dire*, the passage may be rendered: "Whoever knows how to deliver fine poetry and organize his ideas according to proper sense, should tell (*dire*) and teach (*aprendre*) those who want to hear". The idea was familiar enough to the Middle Ages:

"Por ce que cil si fet trop a reprendre  
Qui set le sens et ne le vuet aprendre" (to others?) (*Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. Anc. Textes, vv. 4-5).

There is an alliance between *intentio* and *sensus*:

- 3) "Ieu anc per foll' *entendensa*  
Fui contravoler del *sen*" (Berengier de Palazol, B. N. Fr. MS 854, f. 140).

This may be rendered: "Never, through foolish misconception, did I go so far as to run counter to the sense (of my poetry)". What such "foolish misconception" might be is illustrated by Matfre Ermengaut:

- 4) "As aquesta guarentia  
Vos dic qu'en Folquetz fetz clamar  
El dig cantar de fals'amor,  
E declaret s'*entencio*  
En cela mezeissa canso,  
Don dis iratz e somogutz:" (*Breviari d'Amor*, v. 28189),

which is immediately explained, — *i. e.*, what the *entencio* was — by these lines:

"En Folquet donc *entendia*  
En la dicha canso mal dir."

In other words, the *canso* was organized around the idea of speaking ill of false love. It may be that Matfre, in using the caption *Entendemen de l'Arbre d'Amor*, referred to the principle guiding the construction of that complex diagram.

A striking number of cases occur at the beginning of a poem in which *intentio*, in some form or another, is mentioned. Note in the article cited, apropos of example 34, the statement that *intentio*, in the Aquinian conception, was a necessary prerequisite for *sustentatio*, the laying of definite and tangible foundations. Thus it seems as if the poet Ricas Novas were using *comensar* in a sense almost akin to *entendre*:

- 5) "Ben farai canson plasen  
si puosc, qu'er leus per cantar,  
car dison ce mon trobar  
*comenssei* trop sotilmen;  
mas li bon coneisidor  
ce sabon causir" (Ed. Boutière, p. 29, v. 1-6).

If *comenssei* were to be taken literally, there would be room for wonder that the critics found fault with nothing more than the beginning, instead of saying, as they probably did, that the whole poem was too subtle. On the other hand, if *comenssei* means 'I planned' there is no obscurity.

The rhetoricians knew that *intentio* had to be expressed at the outset:

- 6) "Item apud Rhetores *intendi* dicitur quod in prima argumentationis propositione (quae et *intentio* vocatur)" (Quintilian 5.14, *cit.* Forcellini),

but we note also that it had to be put into action, not remaining as something static in the author's mind.

- 7) "*Intendere* apud grammaticos aliquando est producere" (Gellius 13.22, *id cit.*).

Not in vain is the lineal descendant of *intendere*, i. e., *entendre*, joined with *trobar*, itself a verb of action. The latter is the production according to the rules of the craft, the former is production as the exemplification of an idea.

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### A WEST-ROMANIC SOUND-LAW

IN works dealing with Romanic fonology it is customary to state that a certain Latin sound or sound-group produced a certain Romanic sound or sound-group. In most cases we find a statement of the beginning and end of a development, with little or no explanation of the way in which the development took place, and with little or no consideration of the relation of wone sound-change to other sound-changes. This insufficient method of treatment has led to unfortunate results. A glaring example of the need of considering the interrelations of a sound-change is to be seen in the commonly accepted, but evidently wrong theory that there was a 'vulgar Latin', which confused every open *u* with close *o* and every open *i* with close *e*. French has *muire* from *muris* with short *u* (wrongly given with long *u* in Meyer-Lübke's Romanic dictionary), beside *baignoire* and *mangeoire* from *-oria* with long *o*. The basic vowels differ; the results differ; therefore, there was no leveling of *u* to *o* in the French development, *muire* < *muria*. In Northern France contact with a following palatalized *r* changed open *u* to close *u* before *gula* became *gola*; but contact with a palatal left close *o* unchanged. In Southern France we find *dit* < *digitum* and *det* < *digitum*. This regional distinction corresponds to an ancient, relatively differing chronology: in some regions *j* < *g* was earlier than the change of *pira* to *pera*, while in others it was developed later than the change of *pira* to *pera*; and contact with a following *j* changed open *i* to close *i*, but left close *e* unchanged. In Italian we find *dito* < *digitus*: here *j* < *g* was developed before *pira* became *pera*, and contact with *j* changed open *i* to close *i*. In Spanish we find *seña* from *signa* beside *puño* from *pugnum*: *ññ* was developed from *nn*, before *gula* became *gola* but after *pira* had become *pera*; contact with *ñ* changed open *u* to close *u* but left close *e* unchanged. Portuguese has *cegonha* (= Spanish *cigüeña* < \**cegoiña* < \**cegoñña*) from *ciconia* with long *o*; *cunha* (= Spanish *cuña*) from \**cunea*; *vergonha* (= Spanish *vergüena* < \**vergoiña* < \**vergoñña*) from *uerēcundia*. The vowels of *cegonha* and *cunha* differ; the basic vowels differ; therefore, there was no leveling of *u* to *o* in the Hispanic derivatives of \**cunea*; contact with *ñ* changed open *u* to close *u*, but left close *o* unchanged. The *o* of *vergonha* shows that *ññ* was developed from *ndj*, after *gula* had changed to *gola* in Hispanic, whereas \**cunea* developed *ññ*, before *gula* changed to *gola* in Hispanic; contact with *ñ* left close *o* unchanged. These few examples show that the common theory of a 'vulgar Latin' sound-system, supposed to have leveled open *u* to close *o* and open *i* to close *e*, is false, although widespread changes of the kind did occur, partially before, partially



while and partially after the principle of closure caused by contact with palatals was active.

The main purpose of the present paper is to call attention to a sound-law of Western Romanic which has apparently never been recognized, although most of the points involved are perfectly clear.

*In a voiceless group of the form fricativ-occlusiv-fricativ, the first fricativ was eliminated by dissimilation.*

This law is best illustrated in Spanish, which shows several types of the development: 1) *leche* < *lacte*; 2) *collazo* < *collactum*; 3) *macho* < *masculum*; 4) *macho* < *martulum*; 5) *mozo* < *musteum*; 6) *pez* < *pisces*. In order to explain these developments a number of special symbols must be used: *x* = German *ch* in *acht*; *ç* = German *ch* in *echt*; *c* = Magyar *ty* or Bohemian *t'*; *λ* = Portuguese *lb*; *Λ* = voiceless *λ*; *R* = voiceless *r*. The approximate relative chronology of the changes may be shown as follows:

1) <i>kt</i>	<i>xt</i>	<i>çt</i>	<i>çc</i>	<i>ççç</i>	<i>cç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>
2) <i>ktj</i>	<i>xtç</i>	<i>tç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tθ</i>	<i>θ</i>
3) <i>skl</i>	<i>skλ</i>	<i>scλ</i>	<i>scΛ</i>	<i>scç</i>	<i>cç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>
4) <i>rtl</i>	<i>rtλ</i>	<i>rcλ</i>	<i>RcΛ</i>	<i>scç</i>	<i>cç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>
5) <i>stj</i>	<i>stç</i>	<i>tç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tθ</i>	<i>θ</i>
6) <i>sc</i>	<i>scç</i>	<i>cç</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tθ</i>	<i>θ</i>

In *leche* < *lacte* *a* became *e* because of long contact with the palatal fricative *ç*; in *collazo* the *a* was kept because the following fricative was eliminated.

At the recent meeting in Washington of the Linguistic Society, C. C. Rice proposed \**deiectiare* as the source of Spanish *dejar*. This etymology has two faults: it does not account for Spanish *dejar*; and it does not explain Sicilian *dassari*. Evidently there is a common basis for *dejar* and *dassari*: both have *d* instead of *l*. A theory that essays to explain *dejar* and leaves *dassari* in the air is hardly a theory; it is only a portion of a theory. Against the suspicion that *collazo* may be bookish, we have its retention and palatalization of *ll*, showing a normal development, where a book-word should rather have *l*; and, furthermore, its agreement with *derezar* < \**directiare*, *trazar* < \**tractiare*, showing that \**deiectiare* would have made \**deçar* and \**dezar*, not *dexar* and *dejar*. Spanish *dejar* and Sicilian *dassari* represent a blending of *laxare* and its synonym \**delaxare*, just as French *soleil* represents a blending of \**sōliculus* and its synonym \**sāuelios* (ROMANIC REVIEW, 16, p. 186).

Outside of Hispanic the action of the sound-law stated above has been partially obscured by the action of another sound-law. In Italian we find a change of *pisces* to *peſſe*, with the least sonorous element (*t* or *c*) eliminated in the development *ʃ* < *s(t)ʃ* < *scç* < *sc* < *sk*; similarly in French the words *poisson* and *croissant* show elimination of the occlusiv. But early French has *ts* for *sts* in *ots* from *bostes*, and *ts* < *tʃ* < *xtç* < *ktj* in *decier*, *tracier*. In the fifth edition of Schwan-Behrens' grammar (§ 158) and in the fifth edition of the *Einführung* of Voretzsch (p. 111), I find it stated that *ktj* lost *k* by assimilation in French. This theory is unreasonable. As *kt* and *ks*

became *xt*, *xs*, in all varieties of Western Romanic, the *k* of *ktj* must have changed to a fricative likewise.

In Southern France we find *dreissar* beside *dressar*, but it does not indicate absence of dissimilation. From *baissar* < \**bassiare* it is clear that the *ss* formed from *tš* < *tç* < *xtç* < *ktj* developed to *iss*, in accord with the same change in *baissar*.

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## REVIEWS

### A FAMOUS CATALAN CHRONICLE

Bernat Desclot, *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon: Part I, A.D. 1134-1275; Part II, A.D. 1276-1285*, translated from the original Catalan Text by F. L. Critchlow, Ph.D., Princeton Univ. Press, 1934.

Aside from the studious labors involved and the painstaking efforts required to produce a work of this sort, there is the valid assurance that it will serve both as a background for present-day events in Catalan politics and, chiefly, as a renewal before the world of the claims of that people to a status among European sovereignties in keeping with their historic nationality. Desclot appeared toward the close of the 13th century and was the first, in point of time, of that group of annalists who are designated as the Four Evangelists of Catalan historiography. They embrace a period of 200 years' narration, during the National Epoch, and include the names of Jayme I, with his *Royal Chronicle*, B. Desclot, Ramon Muntaner, and Bernat Descoll who compiled for his King the *Chronicle of Pedro IV*. The annals of Desclot are the shortest of these narratives, but they offer a marked contrast to the others in that their author, by the handling of documentary material as the sources of his information, resembles the modern historian, unconsciously, and inaugurates the critical method. He is terse, exact in chronology, and veracious to such a degree that scholars have termed him the model chronicler of the Middle Ages, in well-merited commendation. In the recounting of the 13th century, with all its stirring realities, he is imbued with a holy regard for truthful expression; and his translator has followed assiduously every step of his exemplar with rare fidelity. The prefaces and annotations are not too lengthy. The style of the English has a slightly archaic touch, not out of harmony with the original, affording an alluring tone to the narration for those who seek simply a reading interest in these annals. The notes are intended for the scholar concerned with source-material. It is a fortunate circumstance that someone was ever induced to pursue a long continued research into the field of Catalan historiography and to present to English readers and students a chronicle that otherwise would have remained a mere title in books of reference.

Dr. Critchlow is to be commended for the even excellence of his style, which combined with the stirrings events of the *Chronicle*, offers an unusual pleasure to the reader, whether or not a student of medieval feudal society.

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## F. GUICCIARDINI'S UNPUBLISHED NOTEBOOK

*Ricordanze inedite di Francesco Guicciardini*, pubblicate ed illustrate da Paolo Guicciardini; Firenze, Felice LeMonnier.

Count Guicciardini has undertaken the task of publishing the unedited writings of his great ancestor, Francesco Guicciardini, which were discovered in the Archives of his family, in Florence.<sup>1</sup> He presents here one of four compositions by the Renaissance historian not included in Canestrini's edition of the latter's *Opere inedite*;<sup>2</sup> doubtless all would still be unknown but for the lengthy researches of Marquis Roberto Ridolfi.<sup>3</sup>

It is appropriate that Francesco Guicciardini's neglected manuscripts should receive the editorial care of his distinguished descendant. Other documents in the Archives of this family — not necessarily from the hand of the historian — which tend to recreate the political and social background of the Italian Renaissance, and were accumulated by the many Guicciardini who served either as statesmen at home or ambassadors abroad, may yet appear to be of greater value as contributions to our knowledge of the period.

The *Ricordanze* are brief but interesting. They are dated from July 1, 1527, to early February of 1528, but they also review the years of Guicciardini's absence from Florence, during which took place that critical struggle ending in the Sack of Rome, and his efforts as Governor and General in the service of the Church to avert the calamities hastening upon Italy. And they penetrate, as well, the years before that period, repeating various items familiar from the longer *ricordanze* published in Canestrini's edition of the *Opere inedite* under the title "Ricordi Autobiografici." Those notations of events, one may recall, conclude with the entry under Dec. 20, 1515. Guicciardini departed from Florence in 1516, when Leo X named him Governor of Modena. Later, he governed Reggio and Parma, then the Romagna, and subsequently became Lieutenant General of the Pope with the army of the League against Charles V. He was able to return to Florence only in 1527, but the "undici anni continui fuora" had been crowded with activity; they had carried him to his highest eminence and were, for the purposes of history, the most noteworthy of his career. Though the newly discovered *Ricordanze*, which are thus closely linked to those preceding, are not as important as the latter, they are none the less indispensable; they cast a backward glance across the author's vanished world of action and preserve one part of his record of it.

Not long after his return, Guicciardini found himself in a difficult situation. The expulsion from Florence of the Medici, with whose service he had become identified, resulted in a government to which he was increasingly suspect. He judged it preferable for this reason, — and the danger from the plague raging in the city reinforced the decision, — to retire to a property which he had acquired in the Mugello, near the Croci di Barberino. He had never seen this estate, called Finocchietto, though during former years Machiavelli had inspected it at his request and promptly favored him with a sarcastic

<sup>1</sup> See *Discoveries in the Guicciardini Archives*, in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXII, 3 July-September, 1931, pp. 251-254.

<sup>2</sup> Barbèra, Bianchi, 1837-67.

<sup>3</sup> See Roberto Ridolfi, *L'Archivio della Famiglia Guicciardini*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 1931, reviewed in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, 2, April-June, 1932, pp. 152-156.

description; he arrived there in August, 1527. His isolation from affairs prompted him to the composition of the "Consolatoria", in which he vented his bitterness; and probably, too, he wrote at Finocchietto his "Accuse" and "Difese", setting down the attacks made against him in Florence, and his no less forceful replies. The present *Ricordanze* were evidently a product of the same period; with the other two works, they form his account of that semi-exile. Though he often descended to the city to attend sessions of the Great Council and thus give evidence of his allegiance to the popular government, the suspicions against him were not assuaged.

The *Ricordanze* occupy the second part of a book labeled *Debitori e Creditori*, which, with many other account books, exists in the Guicciardini Archives; their obscure location apparently explains why they passed unnoticed till an effort to reduce the files to order was made by Alessandro Gherardi. At the head of the volume Guicciardini frankly states that the other record books which he had kept before his departure from Florence had been allowed to lapse; he adds that this one, which he begins July 1, 1527, "Da carte tre a carte 150 sarà Debitori e Creditori. Da carte 150 alla fine sarà Ricordanze." In following pages of the second section, certain milestones of his life recur to him first of all and are briefly indicated anew; then comes a succinct account of his days away from Florence; finally, the record of events after his return. The style of the notations is impersonal and clipped; there is no such series of reflective passages, with their extended comment upon historical developments, as one finds in the earlier *Ricordi*. A great many family matters are noted here, and the whole always retains some suggestion of the record- or day-book. In certain respects this increases its interest: a sense of immediacy rises from these hurried phrases; and within comparatively small space the life led by a great man in temporary exile is forthrightly described, with its very practical details and trivial, day-by-day incidents.

Count Guicciardini has edited the *Ricordanze* with great care and skill. His introductory study of conditions in the period, with a survey of the historian's activity during these years and an analysis of the text, provides a valuable setting for this recaptured notebook of memories and defines its relation to those previously published.

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#### SPANISH AND ITALIAN LINGUISTICS

Academia Española, *Diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, Tomo I-A, Madrid, 1933, xxi + 1108 pp.

Trabalza e Allodoli, *La Grammatica degli Italiani*, seconda edizione, Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1934, vii + 334 pp.

The extent of the Spanish Academy's newest lexicographical enterprise can be gauged by the following details: The first volume comprises the letter A. The outside cover measures something like  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the volume is a little over 2 inches thick.

This work will prove of great value to Hispanists. For Spanish such a dictionary with illustrative sentences has long been desired. Because of the peculiar conditions in Spanish there is required a broader sweep than the usual

grammars and dictionaries afford us. This range of vision is conveniently opened up to us by a presentation of the usages prevalent in former periods of the language. We also needed more frequent reference to American usages. The present work includes Americanisms which are now in use. There always was a sound linguistic basis for the inclusion of such forms, because a word appearing in any particular portion of a speech-domain begins its existence with all the potentialities for diffusion. Indeed, this has in many instances happened. Some Americanisms have become current in the language of the Peninsula. Dialectal forms are not included in the vocabulary if the standard literary form is already given. Technical terms, generally used in cultured circles, and slang are included, though it appears to the reviewer that these admissions are somewhat limited.

The historic dictionary continues the policy of the ordinary dictionary in not listing diminutives in *-ico*, *-illo*, *-ito*, and augmentatives in *-on* and *-azo* whose formation is regular and in conformity with the rules, except where these forms have a special acceptance. There is no extensive etymology, nor are there references to standard works in the field. The etymologies are those of the Academy's *Diccionario de la lengua*. Thus, no discussion is given of the etymology of *andar* and of other doubtful forms. Finally, the definitions are those of the Academy's ordinary dictionary.

A few examples will illustrate how such a work as this can be a godsend to the teacher of Spanish. Under the preposition *a*, the treatment of which extends from p. 1 (middle of second column) to p. 9 (below the middle of first column), we have citations from the *Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Crónica general*, and the *Celestina*. After mention of its uses with the verbs *subir*, *entrar* and *echar*, extensive uses with direct object are given. Then, instances of its absence in the older language, where today it would be used, are listed. Similarly, its omission with *ir* and *venir* before a following infinitive is mentioned. Even the historical infinitive is cited. This procedure renders a supreme service. *Aficionado a*, here given, is not so cited in the ordinary dictionary. Many points, therefore, that were covered in the Academy's grammar, and not in the dictionary, are supplied in the present publication.

While scholars ought to welcome a work of this kind, one that undoubtedly fills a gap, I can hardly resist the observation that we have extremely few, if any, dictionaries in foreign languages so well-nigh inclusive in vocabulary, sound in etymologies, so excellent in definitions and citations and so generally practical and serviceable as *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (now in new edition, 1934).

The following observations may be made:<sup>1</sup> *Abiso*, an older variant of *abismo*, is cited here. It is not found in the ordinary dictionary. The word is of interest, as both forms, *abysm* and *abyss*, occur in English. — *Acento*, designating syllabic prominence, is defined only as "stress". This is a very limited definition and does not use the fruits of linguistic study. (Here Webster's dictionary is far superior). The Academy had in its native speech a fuller and more scientific definition in T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunciación española* (§ 23). *Achis*, "onomat. del estornudo", *anticlerical* and *antirrevolucionario*, terms not given in the ordinary dictionary, find their places in the

<sup>1</sup> The reviewer found two misprints in the introduction: *diversis* (p. vii, l. 10) should be *diversas*, and *depectivos* (p. x) should be *despectivos*.



present work. — Singularly enough, *antisemitismo* is not given. The term of course is a misnomer for two fundamental reasons: first, Arab baiting is not called "antisemitism", and, secondly, modern European Jews are not Semites. — *Asafétida*, listed under *asa* in the ordinary dictionary, is here given in its proper place. — *Ario*, while unscientifically defined, affords a timely citation: "Dícese del individuo de una raza o pueblo primitivo, del cual proceden todos los pueblos jaféticos o indoeuropeos. . . . 'Se pintaban el cuerpo y el rostro: gala militar de que usaban, creyendo que se hacían horribles a sus enemigos, y sirviéndose de la fealdad para la fiereza, como se cuenta de los arios de la Germania'." [*sic*] — Unaccountably absent from the first volume is the word *avatar*.

*La Grammatica degl'Italiani* is a descriptive grammar of the language with a brief sketch of historic phonology. It is apparently intended to be practical.

In the treatment of the syntax illustrative sentences are chosen from a wide range of authors and from various periods of the language. The citations from an earlier period simply serve to confirm the present-day usages. Throughout the work, also, a number of popular usages are cited. Then, there is a convenient and useful table of irregular verbs listed by conjugation, which is followed by a list of defective verbs.

It may be observed that no scientific description of the phonemes of the language is supplied. The definition of a syllable as "one or more letters that are pronounced in a single emission of the breath" (p. 11) is open to some scientific challenge. Furthermore, the account of the development of the Latin sounds is necessarily sketchy.

In the preface, which opens with a reference to Italian as the language "that most faithfully continues the glorious speech of Rome", we are prepared for a dogma that is propagated and maintained throughout the work. In fact, the work is an illustration of the attempt to mix science and practical politics. Thus on p. vi we are introduced to the "nuovo clima spirituale della nazione." As for the closeness of Italian to Latin, while it is true that Italian preserves all the V. L. tonic vowels except *e* and *o*, the whole truth is that Spanish does likewise and in this respect, Rumanian, Provençal and Portuguese do even better. On p. 26 we read that "è, when *s* follows > *i*: vedi (VIDE). This is evidently a misprint for *vides*.

Certain portions of this grammar are of current interest and merit mention. For example, the acclaim of the noun (p. 43) is striking: "Il nome è, col verbo, la sorgente più ricca del vocabolario, lo specchio più limpido e immediato, nella sua ricchezza, della civiltà d'un popolo. Quale e quanta sia nella varietà delle sue forme e de' suoi usi (onde l'ampiezza della nostra esposizione per adeguarla) quella del nostro idioma di nazione tre volte millenaria, è agevole immaginare. Si può vederla e sentirla anche in una sola strofa del Petrarca, d'un poeta di sei secoli fa, vicino cioè al periodo delle origini. . . . Per il tempo nostro, quant'è degli aumenti e dell'espressione, pensare solo — dopo che alla guerra — allo sport, alla radio, all'aeronautica, e soprattutto, al Fascismo, come lievito di nuovo linguaggio, a cominciare da quel che esprime le vecchia parola *Duce*, con cui si designa il fondatore di esso, restauratore, rinnovatore e guida della nuova Italia." Again, we read on p. 89: "I nomi di famiglia e d'origine d'uomini

celebri furono adoperati normalmente con l'articolo: *Il Petrarca*", etc. "Ma va diffondendosi una tendenza, anzi un uso risolutamente opposto coi nomi che divengono molto celebri, come: *Colombo, Verdi, Garibaldi, Mussolini*."

The pronoun is defined and illustrated thus (p. 129): *Il pronome* è 'una forma speciale di nome' che serve o a rappresentare, e lo fa con singolare esattezza ed efficacia, l'idea di persona o cosa già enunciata o da enunciarsi col suo proprio vocabolo, di cui il pensiero debba per un intimo motivo. . . . evitare la ripetizione; oppure ad indicarla senz'altro da sé, quando per la prima volta essa si presenti in un aspetto o rapporto nel quale dal sostantivo non potrebbe esser colta ed espressa. In tal senso il pronome può dirsi il vicario del nome. *'Le idee religiose hanno ancora molto impero. . . Esse possono rendere grandi servizi all'umanità'* (NAPOLEONE, in MUSSOLINI, *Scr. e Disc.*, vii, 41)." Then follows a second case in which Mussolini is quoted in an address to the "gerarchi fascisti." The work closes with this paragraph on the order of words and punctuation: "Alle quali, quel nobile studioso che, degno discepolo di Giosuè Carducci, al Machiavelli dedicò il fiore della sua ardente giovinezza, sarebbe felice di veder oggi corrispondere quella piena e sfolgorante restaurazione che fu il sogno del Profeta dello Stato italiano."

This is grammar with a vengeance.

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#### RECENT STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

G. Lozinski, *La Bataille de Caresme et de Charnage. Edition critique* . . . Paris, Champion, 1933, 218 pp.

A lively scene-painting by Peter Breughel, in the Vienna Museum, illustrates the subject of this fantastic parody of the *Chansons de Geste*: it depicts the ludicrous tournament between Carnival and Lent. The public square on which this epic battle is waged is evidently the frontier of their respective dominions. On one side, several festive inns are wildly overflowing with dancing, drinking and carousing burghers; an exuberantly joyful, multicolored troop of masks crowds behind the fat-bellied and rubicund Carnival, who thrones astride a huge wine-barrel — barrel upon barrel, — and rides to attack pitiful Lent. On the other side, — the dark portals and solemn recesses of a cathedral, processions of black-gowned penitents, sickly beggars with bloodily-banded legs, nuns mumbling prayers under their shadowy hoods. Amidst them, emaciated Lent, — a tottering old lady-skeleton in an invalid's robe, — clings pathetically to a rickety chair, mounted on a shaky platform on wooden wheels. She is dragged forward by a monk and a nun toward the fierce-riding Carnival on his wine-barrel steed. Their withering lances are pointed glitteringly towards each other; Lent has grasped a long-handled fish-broiler with two small herings still clinging to it; Carnival menaces her with a long spit-pike on which a roasted boar's head has been empaled. All around these champions, and far away in the background, whirl the strangely mixed groups of their followers. A circle of dancers crosses a sad file of mourners. White Italian masks with golden guitars, adorned with large necklaces of eagle eggs and multi-colored cakes, meet strangely distorted cripples hobbling on sticks. Fish-wives are

cleaning their silver-shimmering catch, whereas in the foreground a grotesque bow-legged king with a ruby nose, in a wide-bulging mantle, bangs desperately on his rumbling pot-drum to encourage the combatants — pot-bellied Carnival and emaciated Lent.

Breughel was here inspired by the literary tradition of the Battle between Carnival and Lent, and, possibly, by some actual Flemish Carnival scene which staged some incidents of this famous combat.

The 13th-century text of *La Bataille de Caresme et de Charnage* had been transcribed in 1808 by Méon (*Fabliaux et Contes*, IV, pp. 80-99) — but the need of a critical edition and a literary study of the wide-spread theme remained obvious. Dr. Lozinski has done this with care and precision. He has placed this jocose *conte* in its connection with similar *Batailles* (e. g., *La Bataille des Vins* by Henri d'Andéli; the duel between *l'aluette* and *le papegay* in *Blanchefleur et Florence*; the *Bataille d'Enfer et de Paradis*; etc.), and he has stressed its parody-tone. *Caresme* and *Charnage* throw insults at each other before their battle much after the grandiloquent and grotesque fashion of the heroes of romance; and they summon their liegemen and barons — fish, hams, sausages or tasty pastries — from near and afar with the supremely confident gesture of a Charlemagne trumpeting to his warriors at the four corners of the horizon.

These gastronomic feats of arms, — fat fare against lean, — confuse reality and fantasy and open a vista toward the still more imaginative interpretation of the theme by Juan Ruiz, the famous Arcipreste de Hita, in his *Libro de buen amor*. Don Carnal, at the head of an army composed of roast chickens, partridges, capons, rabbits, etc., armed with iron spits, attacks *Santa Quaresma*. This swift-legged infantry is supported by legions of fresh pigs' feet and smoked hams; veal cutlets and prancing little goats form regiments of cavalry and rely upon their body-guard of fresh, white cheeses, which ride as esquires. Cauldrons and kitchen stove-pipes serve as their shields and helmets. The real champions, however, stand out: the strong boar, the light-footed deer, the dashing hare, the invincible ox . . . . Against this formidable array, Doña Quaresma unfolds her army of snails, eels, red lobsters and diverse fish. The legions of Don Carnal, sleepy with feasting and heady wine, are defeated by his adversary's leaders, "Don Salmon" and the giant Whale . . . . Yet, after this disaster, he reassembles his forces, and sends a challenge to Doña Quaresma, who is now too extenuated to engage in a fight and flees, disguised as a pilgrim, before his victorious advance. He is then received by Don Amor and his followers, and marches toward an apotheosis of flowering love . . .

This somewhat ingenuous allegory had a wide European diffusion. One could mention Elena Romano's study, *Contrasti fra Carnevale e Quarisma nella letteratura italiana* (1907), and the several works of Giulio Cesare Croce, the popular Italian author, on this subject; the Croatian version of Marko Marulic (1450-1524); the 18th-century French *poissard* survivals of the theme (which the author has not noticed); etc. Dr. Lozinski has explained the text of the French poem with scrupulous care; he has elucidated its allusions and given a suggestive outline of its international rôle. Although he has brought valuable information about the European diffusion of this genre, one could wish that he had studied it more exhaustively in the literature of Italy (of which

he has indicated a number of titles), and in the literature of the Nordic countries, particularly Irish, Dutch and Danish. He might also have indicated its repercussions in folklore and popular festivities, from which Breughel may have drawn his inspiration. Nevertheless, this study of a medieval parody-theme of religious customs remains a valuable contribution in its field.

R. Dähne, *Die Lieder der Maumariée seit dem Mittelalter*, Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1933, XII + 203 pp. + 3 ll.

The complaints of the unhappily wedded wife, her satire on her "ugly, old, jealous husband", and her fervent declarations in favor of her "friend" and lover, form a well-identified minor medieval sub-genre that has received the close attention of medievalists since Gaston Paris, Gröber and Jeanroy. The personages early became stereotyped, and the themes of the complaints mere formulae: "Le mari est un tyran grotesque appelé le *vilain*, le *jaloux*, qui rend sa femme malheureuse parce qu'il n'est plus assez jeune ou assez aimable; qui l'injurie, la menace de l'enfermer, de la mal vêtir, qui la bat, mais qui n'en est que plus sûr du sort qui l'attend" (Gaston Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1891). Frequently the wife looks forward to his death as a deliverance ("Li jalous envious de corrous morra, et li dous savourous amoureux m'aura"), for he is "vilains, bossus et malestrus et toz plains de graipaille." By contrast, the handsome "ami" is all grace and tact and amorousness. The form of these satirical complaints varied slightly. Sometimes the lady voiced her complaints in a monologue, or sometimes her sufferings were exposed in a dialogue between the *maumariée* and either her husband or her *ami*; or sometimes two married women discussed the defects of their dispensers of "marital bliss", etc. The early poems belong mainly to the 13th century, but the themes and situations showed a tenacious life at later periods. It is noteworthy that the ballads of Deschamps (14th c.) reveal a far more realistic and less monotonously conventional form of these songs of unhappy wives.

Dr. Dähne's study is mainly concerned with the survival of these themes in later literature and with their popular diffusion in the folk-song. He does not break entirely new ground: A. Parducci's "La Canzone di *mal maritata* in Francia nei secoli XV-XVI" (*Romania*, 1909) or P. Finck's *Das Weib im französischen Volksliede* (1904) had covered certain aspects of this pseudo-pathetic, half-sarcastic genre in the centuries following its early efflorescence. But Dr. Dähne has added the noteworthy results of his investigations to these attempts; and his tracing of the *maumariée*-theme through the literature and the folklore of the 16th to the 20th century deserves commendation for real zeal. He has consulted, especially, about 32 *Recueils de Chansons* of the 16th and 17th centuries, which literary history has too much neglected. He has also listed 54 *Recueils* which he could not consult, and which he mentions as "nicht erreichbar" (pp. 41-43). However, among these are some that are very easily available and others that are not *recueils*, but personal works by individual authors. To the latter category belong, for instance, *Le Banquet des Muses* (D. Ferrand, Rouen, 1627), which is a work by Jean Auvray (Cf. F. Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs*, III, pp. 192-194, etc.) and which, far from being "inaccessible", was reprinted in 1862, with a *Notice* by P. Lacroix (Bruxelles, Mertens).

A still less explainable omission is that of the *Comédie des Chansons* (1636?, by C. Beys or de Chillac?) which is available in the reprint of C. Fournier (*Le Théâtre français au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1871). It contains, in Act III, Scene 1, a notable collection of songs of the *maumariée*. The one quoted by Dr. Dähne (p. 72) from M. Haupt's *Französische Volkslieder* (1877) is represented there with some variants:

"Mon père et ma mère leur foy ont juré  
Que dans six semaines je me marieray  
A un vieux bonhomme que je tromperay;  
Droit en Cornuaille je l'envoyeray,  
Et de ses richesses largesse en feray,  
A un beau jeune homme je les donneray . . ."

Other *maumariée* songs quoted in the *Comédie des Chansons* are:

- 1) "Mon père m'a mariée  
Que je n'estois qu'une enfant;  
A un vieillard m'a donnée  
Qui a près de soixante ans;  
Et moy, qui n'en ay que quinze,  
Passeray-je ainsy mon temps? . . ."
- 2) "Mon esprit est étonné  
Du mary qu'on m'a donné;  
J'aime mieux que l'on m'assomme  
Que de vivre sous sa loy . . ."

A different version of this song is quoted by Dr. Dähne (p. 123), but as an 18th-century song. The *Comédie* proves it to be at least a century older.

3) A very interesting *poissard* variant complaint of the unhappily wedded one:<sup>1</sup>

"Mon Dieu, ma pauvre voisine,  
J'ay le plus meschant masy;<sup>2</sup>  
Il a la plus traistre mine  
Qu'on voy-je point dans Pasy<sup>3</sup> . . .  
Pourtant je serais masie  
Si le trite estait plus doux;  
Mais le gros chien de voisie  
M'assomme quasi de coups.  
Cela est tout résolu,  
Je l'allons faire cocu!  
Je ne seray la première  
Qui se mesle du mesquié; . . ."

Dr. Dähne (p. 86) quotes some lines from this song, apparently from the *Parnasse des Muses*, 1633.

- 4) A dialogue between Silvie and Jeanne, belonging to the same tradition:  
"N'est-ce pas bien pour en mourir  
Que d'avoir un jaloux mary?"

<sup>1</sup> On this Parisian dialect, see A. P. Moore, *The "Genre poissard" and the Eighteenth-Century French Stage*, N. Y., Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Mari.

<sup>3</sup> Paris.

- J'en ay un qui me fait mourir  
En ceste tyrannie . . ."
- 5) "Mon Père m'a mariée a un vieillard bon homme!  
J'eusse beaucoup mieux aimé quelque beau jeune homme . . ."
- 6) "Vous ne sçavez pas ce que mon amy m'a donné?  
Il m'a donné de beaux ciseaux . . .  
Mon mary me guette, me guette,  
Comme le chat fait la soury . . ."

Besides these extracts from popular songs on this subject, the *Comédie des Chansons* contains others on closely related themes. Since the play dates from about 1636, they would have added valuable data to Dr. Dähne's study. No doubt, he knows some of them from other sources and with variants, but the *Comédie* is a testimonial to their survival and popularity at the time of Corneille's *Cid*. Although his documentation shows some accidental gaps, Dr. Dähne has, in general, investigated the *Maumariée* folk-songs and their learned imitations with patience and precision. His work will render service for the study of this motive in other literatures. See, for instance, the Spanish ballad, "Requiebra un amante a la bella mal maridada . . ." (G. B. Depping, *Romancero castellano*, II, p. 462). The same theme, as is well known, has also been treated by Gil Vicente, Castillejo, Silvestre, Montemayor and a number of others.

Carl Appel, *Die Singweisen Bernarts von Ventadorn, nach den Handschriften mitgeteilt* . . . Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1934, 46 pp. + 8 ill.

This is the last work of the distinguished Provençal scholar, Carl Appel, who died on Feb. 3, 1934. It is a supplement to his well-known text-editions of the songs of Bernard de Ventadour: *Bernart von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder* (1915) and *Bernart von Ventadorn, Ausgewählte Lieder* (1926). M. Jeanroy has called the songs of Bernard de Ventadour "l'un des plus beaux cantiques d'amour qui aient jamais été chantés" (*R. d. Deux-Mondes*, 1903, p. 675); and Appel notes: "Als Dichter gilt er von jeher als der beste der provenzalischen Minnesänger. Aber auch sein *cantar* wird neben seinem *trobar* schon von der alten provenzalischen Biographie gelobt." The transcription of his known melodies from four MSS will give us a better understanding of his art. Eight illustrations reproduce 8 pages of music from MS B. N. FF 844. With these, all of the known 18 melodies of Bernard de Ventador have been photographically published. The other ten can be found either in Appel's 1915 edition or in the photostatic reproduction of MS B. N. F. F. 20050 published by the Société des Anciens Textes (1892). Appel has not transcribed the melodies into the modern system of notation; he has reproduced the MSS. To indicate the rhythm he has published a scheme of stresses and pauses besides the Provençal text of each song.

*Germanisch-Romanische Studien*, Professor Hugo Suolahti . . . von Fachgenossen, Freunden und Schülern dargebracht, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Helsingfors, 1934, 637 pp.

This *Festschrift*, published by the Finnish Academy to honor Prof. Suolahti on the occasion of his 60th anniversary, contains a number of studies of Ro-



mance interest. The longest contribution (254 pp.) is a very useful "Onomastique des Trouvères" by H. Peterson Dyggve, which classifies exhaustively all the proper names, geographical designations, general group-names, etc., which occur in the poems of the *Trouvères*. It is an excellent companion-work to Chabaneau and Anglade's "Onomastique des Troubadours" (*Revue des Langues romanes*, 1915), and its entries are even more detailed and critical. Dr. Dyggve has been able to add a considerable number of names of *Trouvères* to the list published, in 1884, by G. Raynaud in his *Bibliographie des Chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe Siècles* (II, pp. 231-246). He has collected a name-register of no less than 562 poets; and for each one he has listed all known works, references, articles, etc. Other subdivisions, such as names from antiquity, the epic poems or the Bible, the references to peoples such as Jews, Englishmen, etc., the geographical divisions and place-names, make this list an excellent *instrument de travail*; we may say an analytic register of the results of research on the *Trouvères* until today. Many of these results are of doubtful value, but their tabulation furnishes a means of control and opens up new avenues and topics for investigation.

The highly esteemed medievalist, Arthur Langfors, contributes a precise study, "En marge de trois poèmes de la fin du XIIIe siècle sur Pierre de la Broce," which corrects F. E. Schneegans' study in *Romania* (1932), and clears up some references to this surgeon of Louis IX, who became the all-powerful favorite of Philippe III, but who, by a sudden reversal of fortune, was executed on June 30, 1278. He was declared guilty of several acts of treason, but especially of having poisoned the eldest son of King Philip and his first wife, Isabelle of Aragon, — a crime of which he is said to have accused the King's second wife, Maria of Brabant. J. V. Lehtonen discusses again the medieval expression, "Faire la compagnie Tassel", which has puzzled medieval-text editors ever since Méon's edition of the *Roman de Renart* in 1826 (I, ll. 3818-21). The meaning is clear from the context: it refers to a false companion who breaks his trust and leaves his friend. Méon believed Tassel to be an individual "dont la mauvaise foi était passée en proverbe"; Paulin Paris attempted to identify Tassel with a historic Taisson who betrayed his master, Robert Courte-Heuse, Duke of Normandy; O. Schultz-Gora proposed Tassilon II, Duke of Bavaria, who betrayed his uncle, Pepin. But Francisque Michel (*Chronique de Bénédict*, 1844) stated that *tassel* meant *blaireau* (badger); Godefroy followed him, and Dr. Lehtonen points out that in the 76th fable of Marie de France, the badger plays the rôle of a false companion among the pigs. He was disguising himself as one of them to eat their food, but revealed his true identity and left them when they were going to be slaughtered. This fable, undoubtedly known in France before Marie de France, may have originated the proverb. Among other contributions, W. O. Streng-Renkonen discusses "Quelques Noms de Foyer franco-provençaux", and Urban Nyström makes use of the recent publication of the *Archivo del general Miranda* (See ROMANIC REVIEW, XXI, 1930, p. 68, W. S. Robertson, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda*, reviewed by B. Matulka) to describe his impressions of Finland in "La Finlande en 1787 vue par un Vénézuélien."

E. Hoëpfner, *La Folie Tristan de Berne*. Publiée avec commentaire . . . Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1934, 155 pp.

Temporary attacks of real madness is a motive common enough in medieval letters. It is interwoven, sometimes, with the legend of the Hairy Anchorite or Penitent: Merlin, for instance, went mad because of his guilt in originating the battle of Arderydd and fled to the woods to become a penitent savage. In *Palamedes*, the "Bon Chevalier sans Pour" was maddened by hunger; Lancelot lost his mind several times for grief or love; in *Amadas et Ydoine*, the lover Amadas goes temporarily mad when Ydoine is given in marriage to the Count of Nevers; and, among a number of other heroes of romance, Tristan, when he suspects Yseult of infidelity, composes, in the solitude of the forest, his swan-song, the *Lay Mortel*, and falls into a frenzy. He becomes a hairy savage, living on raw meat and whatever bread he can beg from shepherds.<sup>1</sup>

But this is not the only variety of "madness" that occurs in the Tristan legend. Another branch represents him as *assuming* madness in order to approach Iseut la Blonde, who is kept jealously guarded by her husband, King Marc. He disguises himself now as a minstrel, then as a leper, a pilgrim, a monk, and, finally, as a madman. He slips into the castle of his uncle and succeeds in revealing his true identity to Iseut, but is finally discovered and forced to retire again into exile. This Tristan-Madman episode is found in an abbreviated form in the German *Tristan* by Eilhart von Oberg (12th c.), in the French prose *Tristan* (13th c.), and his disguise as a madman is the subject of the episodic poem, *La Folie Tristan*, of which two versions are known: the MS of Berne (572 ll.) and the MS of Oxford (998 ll.). The longer Oxford version is related to the "courtly" version of the prose *Tristan*, and much more flowery than the text of Berne, and yet there exist such similarities between the two MSS that their parentage cannot be doubted. At least 4 lines in both poems are almost identical (B. 512-15 and O. 915-18). In such cases it is the rather general practice of scholars to suppose a "lost MS" as the common source; and frequently enough they endow a story with two or three "lost" ancestors and, sometimes, a number of "lost" relatives in order to account for every similarity and every divergency between two or three versions. The similarity of plot and of a few identical lines between the two *Folie Tristan* has been hitherto explained by their common imitation of a "lost" primitive *Folie*. Dr. Hoëpfner now rejects this hypothesis: "Peut-on admettre raisonnablement que deux auteurs aient pu avoir, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, au même endroit exactement la même idée de reproduire mot à mot le même passage de leur source commune? Ce n'est certes pas impossible, mais combien c'est peu probable. Par contre, rien de plus facile que d'admettre que de nos deux poètes le second, frappé par le passage en question, n'ait cru pouvoir faire mieux que d'incorporer purement et simplement à son œuvre ces quelques vers si expressifs de son devancier. Il est donc bien plus probable que l'une des deux *Folies* ait été faite directement sous l'inspiration de l'autre" (pp. 8-9).

But which of the two versions can claim priority? Here the solution which each scholar accepts will largely hinge upon the amount of originality which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barbara Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*, 1931, pp. 290-293, 311-315; E. Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, 1890, p. 68, etc.; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, Nueva B. A. E. (Edit. 1925), Vol. I, p. CCVIII; J. R. Reinhard, *Amadas et Ydoine* . . . , *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XV, 1924, pp. 247-265.

he is willing to concede to a medieval author. Are medieval authors at all times but slavish imitators and childlike copyists, whose variations from a known version of a tale can be explained only by his copying *verbatim* from one "lost" version, or two or three "lost" versions? Or did they have, more or less frequently, a conscious conception of their task and independence as authors? Did they intentionally expand or reduce, rewrite and recast, remodel and transpose, the twice-told tales they wished to renarrate? And, in this rearrangement of texts, did they make a conscious, selective — even, in a measure, critical — use of the one or the several texts that may have been at their disposal?

Dr. Hœpffner gives good reasons for believing that the Berne version of the *Folie Tristan* is prior to the Oxford version. The Berne poem is far less adroitly composed, but it has a certain spontaneous quality which the better organized Oxford version lacks. It would seem that the author of the Oxford version re-wrote the Berne *Folie Tristan* after having read the more courtly prose *Tristan* of Thomas of Britain. In a word, the Berne version is more archaic, and the Oxford version bears the imprint of a reworking by a clever penman, well aware of the courtly and embellished *Tristan* tradition. Of course, I may be allowed to repeat, this explanation depends almost entirely on the degree of originality scholars wish to grant to medieval recasters of romances. How can one satisfactorily elucidate, I submit, the interdependence of the so-called courtly and popular versions of the *Fleur et Blanchefleur* (published by Edélestand du Méril)?

From another point of view, the assumed madness of *Tristan* and his cryptic answers to King Marc, foreshadow the tradition of the assumed madness of *Hamlet*, as well as his verbal fencing with his enemies at court:

"Mars l'apele si li demande:

'Fous, con as non?' — 'G'e'non Picous.'

— 'Qui t'angendra?' — 'Uns galeros.'

— 'De que t'ot il?' — 'D'une balaine.' "

*Hamlet* mentions a "whale" in the clouds to throw *Polonius* off the track . . . But, of course, this is mere coincidence. Yet the theme of "assumed madness" of a prince at an inimical court may well have followed certain traditional outlines.

Other examples of assumed madness in general are *Robert le Diable*, who simulates madness after discovering his diabolical origin (Ed. E. Löseth, *Robert le Diable*, 1903), and *Cleomadès*, by Adenès li Rois (latter half of the 13th c.), in which *Clarmondine* feigns madness so as not to be obliged to marry *Meniadus*, the King of Salerno.

Though Dr. Hœpffner has not attempted to place the assumed madness of *Tristan* within the medieval history of this motive, he has given a highly commendable edition of the Berne text, exhaustively elucidated by well-informed notes and a critical introduction. Although it may arouse some disagreements as to its conclusions, it is lucid and convincing and entirely worthy of the learned Arthurian scholar who produced it.

E. Faral, *Le Manuscrit 19152 du Fonds Français de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.

Reproduction phototypique publiée avec une Introduction, Paris, Droz, 1934, 54 pp. + 205 ff.

This well-known and precious MS has been frequently used, ever since the 18th century, by former editors of one or more of the 61 different compositions, or groups of compositions, which it has preserved. They belong to several genres, — *fabliaux*, *contes courtois*, *burlesques*, etc. — and date from about the middle of the 12th to about the end of the 13th century. It is a somewhat haphazard anthology of previous compositions, copied in the North of France at the beginning of the 14th century.

In 1746 the Count de Caylus analyzed it in a *Mémoire sur les Fabliaux* and copied it in part; in 1760 Barbazon published from it *Le Castolement ou Instruction du Père à son Fils* and some other poems. From then on, and until today, the MS 19152 has been frequently used by a number of editors, among whom the familiar, older names of Méon, Montaignon, Raynaud, Crapelet and Jubinal may be mentioned. Recently H. Pflaum drew from it the interesting "Desputaison du Juyf et du Crestien" (*Tarbiz*, II, 4, 1931) and Faral, the "D'Amors et de Jalousie" (*Romania*, 1933). It still contains minor *inedita*, such as *De quoi viennent li traïtor et li mauvés* and a fabliau by Gautier le Leu; and its value is further enhanced by the fact that it contains 20 poems of which no other copy is known.

Prof. Faral's phototypic reproduction of this well-known MS is, then, to be regarded as an act of homage to an important repository of medieval literature, and his minutely detailed Introduction gives an excellent view of its position in literary history.

In the midst of the 15th century a note was written on the lower margin of folio 80 V, relating to the collapse of the rocks of the Claps, in 1443. This landslide blocked up the bed of the Drôme river and thus created two lakes, under the waters of which the town of Luc-en-Diois was submerged. Prof. Faral states that part of this note is unintelligible, and transcribes: "L'an M ° IIII XLIII et le XIXe jour d'oust fu le deluge de Luc en Dieys, lequel perist par la roche qui ce rompit, *que fit l'an close par quoy le lans vet* et perit le chastel et la ville" (p. 13). I agree that the underscored words have no meaning, but I believe that they are merely a misreading of the text. The following transcription may solve the problem: "L'an M ° IIII et le XIXme jour d'oust fut le deluge de Luc an Dieys, lequel perit p[ar] la roche quy ce rompit, q[ui] fit l'anclose p[ar] quoy le lacs fict,<sup>1</sup> et perit le chastel et la ville." This reading is in full agreement with the historical facts as outlined above: the falling rocks formed an "enclos" in the river and thus created the "lacs".

*Rodulfi Tortarii Carmina*, edited by M. B. Ogle and D. M. Schullian, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, Vol. VIII, 1933, LIX + 500 pp.

The American Academy in Rome has rendered a distinct service to scholarship in publishing the poems of the 11th-century monk of Fleury, Rodolfus Tortarius, from the unique MS in the Vatican library, which formerly belonged

<sup>1</sup> The first letter of this word, *f*, is partly erased in the MS, but its tracings are still clearly visible.

to Christina, Queen of Sweden. This is the only complete MS known, — though copies of some isolated poems are found in other libraries — and the editors have clearly proven that old catalogue-references or mentions of a complete MS always designate the same *Vat. Reg.* 1357, — in its migrations from the library of Fleury (sacked in 1562 by the Huguenots) to that of Pierre Daniel of Orleans, to Paul Petau and Jacques Bongars of Paris, and to Alexandre Petau, whose library was sold, in 1645, to Queen Christina.

This edition brings little new material on the life of Tortarius; the editors have not reinvestigated the conflicting interpretations of his *Epistula VII*, which, at first blush, seems to contain so much autobiographical material (Cf. E. de Certain, *Raoul Tortaire*, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1855; A. Jenal, *Der Kampf um Durazzo, 1107-1108, mit dem Gedicht des Tortarius*, *Hist. Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1916; etc.). The chapter, *Suggested Sources*, however, is illuminating as to the Classic and late-Latin learning of this monk-poet and his evident preference for Valerius Maximus. The textual edition of the several works, — *De Memorabilibus*, *Epistulae XI*, *Passio B. Mauri*, *Hymnus in Honore B. Mauri*, *Miracula S. Benedicti*, etc. — is done with conservative care; and the editors have not attempted to fill the *lacunae* of the MS with more or less defensible emendations.

To French scholars the poems of Rodolfus Tortarius (Raoul Tortaire, Raoul le Tourtier) are of especial interest since his *Epistula II, Ad Bernardum*, contains the oldest known version of the two-friend story, *Amis et Amiles*. He testifies that (c. 1110) this tale of unshakable friendship was popular in several European countries: "Amelius and Amicus, whose story, known in Gaul and Britain, so far transcends the fair goal of belief that many think it but a tale." Moreover, in the same story an interesting reference is made to Roland's mighty sword Durendal, — and this passage has been used for the dating of the *Chanson de Roland*. In a duel with the traitor Hardré, the sword of Amis breaks, but the princess Beliardis sends him her father's sword, — which is no other than Roland's, who had received it from Charlemagne, his uncle (Cf. on this, R. Fawtier, *La Chanson de Roland*, pp. 68-69).

G. Krause, *Die Handschrift von Cambrai der altfranzösischen "Vie de Saint Grégoire"*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1932, 21 + 114 pp.

The 11th-century *Vie de Saint Grégoire* was published in 1857 by V. Luzarche, with the title *Vie du Pape Grégoire le Grand, Légende française*, from a MS in the library of Tours. How much of a "légende française" this poem really is seems quite questionable when one remembers how deeply it was influenced by the *Cædipus* legend. Saint Grégoire — who does not correspond to any historical Pope, — is a foundling, who becomes a knight and unwittingly marries his own mother. When this involuntary sin is discovered he does penance for 17 years on a solitary rock in the sea, until, through unmistakable recommendation of a heavenly Voice, he is elected Pope.

There exist two versions of this legend: 1) a rather long and circumstantial one, (A), preserved in three MSS: Tours, Arsenal, Bibliothèque Nationale; 2) a much briefer version, (B), equally preserved in three MSS: British Museum, Arsenal, Cambrai. The uncritical edition by Luzarche made use of only MS A, of Tours, — but scholars have been studying the other ones, thus laying the found-

dation for a future critical edition. Among these preparatory studies we may note: Miehle, *Das Verhältnis der Handschriften des altfranzösischen Gregorius*, 1886; *Ueber die Sprache des altfranzösischen Gregor B*, 1886; F. Kahle, *Glossar zu den Hss. der altfr. Gregorlegende*, 1915; M. Roques, "Sur deux Particularités métriques de la *Vie de Saint Grégoire*", *Romania*, 1922, who argues for the existence of a lost original from which both existing versions were independently derived.

In this technical study use is made of the late MS of Cambrai (B3, — c. 1400) to test again the independence or interdependence of the several versions, — and the results, though remaining somewhat problematic, seem to reconcile Miehle and M. Roques by the means of a new, if complex, hypothesis: The A and B versions are derived from a "lost" prototype, but B2 and B3 were derived from a "lost" B version which was contaminated by a "lost" A version. But there may be more mysteries in the MS traditions than even the most painfully minute philological investigation will ever unveil . . . This multiplication of "lost versions", which, during two centuries and somewhat mysteriously, influence and contaminate one another, is slightly disquieting. Why assume that there have existed only a few — 6 or 8 — more or less similar copies or abbreviations of the *Vie de Saint Grégoire*? A number of others may have been lost — or an imitator or adapter may have concocted his own variants without reference to a "lost prototype", — so that the genealogical tree of the MSS must of need remain as problematical as that of many a noble family.

Sister M. A. Savoie, *A "Plantaire" in Honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Taken from a French Manuscript of the XIVth Century*, Washington, The Catholic University of America, 1933, VIII + 211 pp.

This "French MS of the 14th century" is MS 12483 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, known as the *Rosarium du Dominicain de Soissons*, (first half of the 14th cent.), and which is priceless for literary history since it contains the only known version of a number of stories<sup>1</sup> relating to the Holy Virgin. In fact, the MS is so well known that Sister M. A. Savoie should have indicated its number in her title. Every Medievalist would have recognized it at once, since extracts from it have been published by Jubinal, (*Nouveau Rec. de Contes, Dits, Fabliaux*, 1842, II), P. Meyer (*Romania*, 1875), G. Raynaud (*Romania*, 1885), Jeanroy (*Mélanges Wilmotte*), A. Langfors (*Notices et Extraits des Mss. de la Bibl. Nat.*, etc., 1916), Järnström, (*Rec. de Chansons pieuses du XIIIe S.*, 1927), K. Bartsch, Aubry, and a number of others. Notwithstanding the deep inroads that all these scholars have made upon its text, a large part remains unpublished — and probably those parts that are the more personal work of the author-compiler: the *Bestiaire* (44 chapters); the *Plantaire* (25 chapters); 12 chapters on miscellaneous subjects, paraphrases of prayers, such as the *Salve Regina*, the *Credo*; some *dits* and *contes*. As scholars have previously noted, the 266 folios of the MS 12483 represent only about half of its original length.

From the unpublished parts Sister M. A. Savoie has selected the *Plantaire* for a palaeographic edition. Each chapter of this pseudo-scientific and alle-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Langfors, *La Société française vers 1330, vue par un Frère Prêcheur du Soissonais*, Helsingfors, 1917-18; *Romania*, 1918-19, p. 605; Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1916, p. 369.



gorical work begins with a "medical" description of the properties of a certain plant; after which the author mentions the virtue it symbolizes and explains how, in a spiritual sense, the "virtues" of the plant are found in a supreme degree in the Holy Virgin. Then he tags on one or more miracles of Our Lady, — and these stories and *exempla* are mainly responsible for the scholars' interest in the compilation of the Dominican monk of Soissons.

Our Lady's Beauty, for instance, is symbolized by the virtues of cinnamon, the lily, the laurel and the swallow-wort; Her courtesy by fennel and mandrake; Her prudence by saffron; Her stability and liberality by the onion; Her poverty by mallow and pine; Her discretion by dragoncia and lettuce; etc. This allegorical attitude of mind is, of course, antipodic to our modern views and a mere enumeration of its pedantic and yet tenderly invented comparisons of "scientific and spiritual similarities" between healing plants and the virtues of the Holy Virgin can do no justice to this work. One has to read the work in the spirit in which it was written.

The sources of the Dominican monk's medical knowledge have been clearly tabulated, and it is interesting to note that among them Pliny and a number of Arab and Jewish physicians stand out; — Abou Hanifa, Ibn Massouih (Bagdad, 8th c.), Ibn Abis-Salt (Bagdad, 9th c.), El Madjoussy (Persia, 10th c.), El-Ghafeky (Spain, 12th c.), Razès (Arabia, 10th c.) and a number of others. Although plant-symbolism has been used extensively from an early date on, this *Plantaire* seems to be the only one known composed systematically to the honor of the Holy Virgin. For this reason, — and also because it served as the framework for so many well-known *miracles* and *exempla* — it richly deserved publication.<sup>2</sup>

*Franco-German Relations:* Although they may not primarily belong to the fields covered by the ROMANIC REVIEW, we may, nevertheless, mention here that Prof. Hugo Suolahti, who in 1929 issued the first part of his extensive study, *Der französischen Einfluss auf die deutsche Sprache im dreizehnten Jahrhundert*, has now published the second part in the *Mémoires de la Société Neo-Philologique de Helsingfors* (X, 1933, 485 pp.). Working in the same direction as this valuable repertory, Dr. Arvid Rosenquist has issued *Der französischen Einfluss auf die mittelhochdeutsche Sprache in der ersten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (*Mém. Soc. Neo-Phil. Helsingfors*, 1932, 276 pp.). Both these works continue the older study of Prof. Hugo Palander (1902), who elucidated the French influence upon the German language during the 12th century. Dr. Rosenquist's study on the 14th-century German vocabulary is prefaced by a valuable Introduction, in which the social and literary conditions of the rise and fall of French influence are lucidly expounded. The decline of the number of words of French origin in the German vocabulary of the 14th century was due to the disappearance of a number of special terms dealing with knightly or courtly life, which were never extensively used except by a cultured aristocracy. Now, this aristocracy had entered upon a cultural decadence. Members of the *bourgeoisie*, a doctor, Heinrich von Neustadt, a writer, Johann von Wurzburg,

<sup>2</sup> Minor criticisms: The bibliography might have listed R. Guiette's *La Légende de la Sacristine* (1927) in connection with Division VII, *Mandragore*. Articles should not be listed under the title of the *periodical* in which they appeared, but under the author's name; and the bibliography should have been subdivided into groups, such as Text-Editions, Studies on MS 12483, General Reference-Works, etc.

a goldsmith, Philipp Colin, were writing romances of chivalry. With them the courtly life and the customs of the knight were but imitation, and, therefore, they used a far less extensive vocabulary relating to courtly lore.

—Sister M. A. Rachbauer's *Wolfram von Eschenbach. A Study of the Relation of the Content of Books III-VI and IX of the "Parzival" to the Chrestien Manuscripts* (Catholic University of America, 1934, XII + 263 pp.) is a detailed investigation of the influence of the several MSS of Chrestien's *Perceval le Galois* or *Li Contes del Graal* upon a part of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*. It has been greatly facilitated by Prof. A. Hilka's excellent edition of the Chrestien text (1932). Numerous scholars had previously attempted to elucidate the relationship between these German and French Grail romances, but they were definitely handicapped by the lack of a critical edition, and their results, — based either on the antiquated and uncritical Potvin edition of the Mons text, or on this edition and some of the unprinted MSS — remained fragmentary and contradictory. There was, then, ample reason for taking up this task anew. Sister Rachbauer's exhaustive and minute comparison comes to the conclusion that none of the now existing French MSS was Wolfram's exclusive source, though certain versions stand much nearer to his text than others. He knew the interpolations of MSS H and P, as well as the Bliocadran-Prolog. Similar comparisons between the Chrestien *Perceval* might be undertaken, e. g., with the Middle-English *Sir Perceval of Gales*, the Welsh *Peredur* and the Middle-Dutch fragments, *Perchevael*, in order to determine exactly their dependence upon the French MSS. We regret that this complex dissertation is not printed, but reproduced by an uneven photo-offset process, which makes it very difficult to read.

—Dr. H. Breuer has issued a second, increased and corrected edition of W. Foerster's well-known *Wörterbuch zu Kristian von Troyes' Sämtlichen Werken* (Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1933), which had been unobtainable for some time. Foerster's long "literargeschichtliche und sprachliche Einleitung" has not been reprinted, but good use has been made of A. Hilka's edition of *Der Percevalroman (Li Contes del Graal)* (M. Niemeyer, 1932), which completes the series of Chrestien texts prepared by Foerster, and of Gamillscheg's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Fr. Spr.*

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# THE TRUE STORY AND THE LEGEND OF ABELARD AND HÉLOÏSE

Charlotte Charrier, *Héloïse dans l'Histoire et dans la Légende*, Bibl. R. L. C., Paris, Champion, 1933, VII + 690 pp.

What could have been the secret in the charm of this logic-chopper Abelard? What can be learned of the facts about Abelard and Héloïse? Not to the former, perhaps, but in any case to the latter question, Mlle Charrier has supplied an answer that will be final. She has put together, and in very presentable form, not only everything that is known of Héloïse and her Professor, but everything that has been related of them in song and story.

Abelard turns out to be one of the shabbiest, and Héloïse one of the noblest figures of History. Although it is plain that she was no less learned and gifted

than he, it is difficult to disentangle the elements of her personality from the self-created legend of her unworthy Master. Abelard himself saw to this. Whether the man was a rascal, let any but the Judge be judge, upon the basis of Mlle Charrier's exhaustive evidence. After his accident (and his definitive punishment was meted out by Fulbert, not because of his relations with Héloïse, but because he indulged in debauchery in Paris while his bride was locked up in a distant convent), he carefully "arranged" and edited the intimate letters of the woman who loved him, deleting, interpolating, re-writing every page, and publishing these falsified documents as the authentic correspondence of himself and his wife. He even added a Preface (the *Historia Calamitatum*) in which he betrayed the woman's most secret confidences, for the pleasure of the tabloid-readers of the day. This Preface is the only strictly genuine document in the spurious *Letters of Abelard and Héloïse*. It is perhaps the most damning self-condemnation ever written. Abelard's purpose in writing it, and in publishing his wife's "letters", was self-glorification. He wanted to show that he had been loved madly by a first-class woman. It was true, and he proved it, by incorporating into his incredible book a large number of fragments from the messages she actually wrote, and which he destroyed after he had given to the world such portions of them as reflected his former prowess as a lover.

The figure of the real Héloïse remains shadowy, although Mlle Charrier has apparently done all that could possibly have been done to give it form and substance. It is in the *Historia Calamitatum* that we learn almost all we know about her. Abelard, who is so prolix on the subject of his own talents and triumphs, refers to her briefly and only incidentally, as the cause of his woes. She was about 18 years of age when she met the glittering star of the Cloister School. This was toward 1117. Since she was reared by a Canon Fulbert, who passed for her uncle, and since in at least one epitaph only her mother's name is given, it is not unreasonable to suppose (the supposition is not Mlle Charrier's) that she was of illegitimate birth. Four contemporary writers agree that she was the most learned woman of her day. The story of Héloïse, from the time that Abelard came, in the flood-tide of his prestige, to her uncle's home, where he took lodgings and became her tutor, until she was packed off to Brittany with her infant son, is well-enough known. After her lover's mishap, she took the veil, at the age of 20, reciting, it is said, the verses of Lucan:

"O maxime conjux!  
O thalamis indigne meis! Hoc juris habebat  
In tantum fortuna caput? . . ."

She became Abbess of the Paraclete, noted throughout Europe for her piety, wisdom and learning, commenting, for the benefit of her sisters in religion, on the Greek and Hebrew texts of Scripture, and administering the affairs of her convent with energy and skill.

Abelard died in 1142, in the odor of sanctity, having effected a reconciliation with Saint Bernard, who had secured his condemnation at the Council of Sens. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, assured the widowed Abbess of the Paraclete that she and her husband would be reunited in a better world, and had his body transported to her convent for burial. A letter, thanking Peter for this kindness, is the only authentic document from the hand of Héloïse that is still in existence, so far as we know.

Mlle Charrier thus relates, in 363 pages, all the facts, describing all the documents and other sources of information on the lives of this strange couple. In an additional 330 pages she examines the *legend* of Abelard and Héloïse, setting forth the substance of what the chroniclers and poets of each succeeding age have imagined by way of interpretation and addition. To the student of literature, Mlle Charrier's account of the legend's development will be even more interesting than her account of the facts.

In their own life-time, the story of the lovers was immensely popular. It circulated in a variety of forms, from the scabrous to the pedantic. So, indeed, has it been in the centuries that followed. Peter the Venerable was perhaps the most enthusiastic admirer of Héloïse, among her contemporaries — at least among her *illustrious* contemporaries — and he is undoubtedly the source of Villon's "très Sage Héloïse". For Villon knew the *Roman de la Rose*; and to Jean de Meun and the Middle Ages our heroine was what Peter had called her, and what she undoubtedly was — a very wise and very admirable woman. Mlle Charrier thinks, by the way, that the *Roman de la Rose* was written before the *Letters of Abelard and Héloïse* were translated into the vernacular.

Petrarch read the *Letters* passionately (of course!), and the Bibliothèque Nationale has a MS copy that belonged to him. It is the only illustrated MS of the *Letters* that we possess (B. N. lat. 2923), and contains marginal notes in the handwriting of the great humanist. Petrarch refers to Abelard with respect, but his personal interest was in Héloïse. He wrote on a fly-leaf of this copy a long, enigmatic note that M. Pierre de Nolhac believes to be "un examen de conscience particulièrement réservé aux péchés de la chair"!

But on the whole, the heroine was "a little neglected in the Middle Ages, and totally forgotten during the Renaissance". It was in the 17th century that the legend, as we have it, was revived, or rather created. There was a flood of perfumed little books in which the story was related for the benefit of "gallant" readers in the pseudo-Classic age. All, of course, are libels upon the memory of Héloïse.

The first edition of the "Works" of Abelard and Héloïse is that of François d'Amboise (Paris, 1616). But it was not until 1675 that the modern legend, properly speaking, got under way, with the appearance of *Les Amours d'Abailard et d'Héloïse*, by Alluis, a lawyer of Grenoble. To know what the French 17th century was in reality, read Félix GaiFFE's *L'Envers du Grand Siècle*, or the aforementioned work of Alluis, which is typical of the age. Every age, of course, has its own way of understanding the past, and so paints its own portrait. The interest of Mlle Charrier's book is to be found chiefly in her record of how curiously each successive generation of men has portrayed itself, in its peculiar interpretation of a medieval woman's love for a hero of learning.

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NEW YORK

#### THE THEORIES OF A GREAT RENAISSANCE THINKER

A. Garosci, *Jean Bodin; politica e diritto nel Rinascimento francese*, Milano, Casa editrice A. Corticelli, 1934.

A cursory view of the literature on Bodin in French, English and German, reveals the fact that we do not possess a single fully satisfactory study of the

*Gesamtleistung* of Bodin, embracing in a critical synthesis his political ideas, his theory of history, his religious, ethical and economic views, — a full-length likeness of Bodin's personality in which his aspects are portrayed in their organic interconnection and in their relation to milieu and age, to preceding, contemporary and succeeding currents of thought. Italy, which, in past times, was in the rearguard of the troop of scholars who made Bodin the object of their attention, suddenly takes the lead with Garosci's book which can unhesitatingly be termed the best that has been written about the Angevin writer.

The reason for this superior interpretation plainly lies in the fact that the Italian has the advantage over the critics of other nations, the fellow-countrymen of Bodin included, of possessing "through his own literature an easier and almost natural knowledge of the historical antecedents of those problems that Bodin discussed and systematized. In Jean Bodin France has the classical juridical systematization of the theory of the *ragione di stato*. It is chiefly in its legal form, as systematized by Bodin, that this theory, technically termed *sovereignty*, has crossed the epoch of the Enlightenment to reach us. Its origin is to be found in a subtle confluence of Renaissance thought, which was chiefly Italian thought and tradition, with the systematic spirit, athirst for order and ascetic self-denial, of the Calvinistic Reformation."

Garosci possesses to an eminent degree what Vico terms the critical gift *par excellence*, that of seeing the whole in the part and the part in the whole; no section of Bodin's *Ideenwelt* is improvidently wrenched from the organism out of which it grows; the Italian critic has the keenest realization that the anatomizing, micrological method is the least adapted to the evaluation of Bodin's theories and phantasies, considering the vascular quality of his ideological tissue, which would recoil in a sudden spurt of blood and blind the eyes of the examiner if subjected to a pedantic dissection.

The manner in which Garosci, after having paid due attention to the rights of the *conjunctive* factor, tackles the problem of the *disjunctive* show, notable sagacity. The polemical positions of Bodin have, in Garosci's book, an almost sculptural relief, and help us not a little in understanding certain of his enigmas. The *Démonomanie* would pass for merely a pathological aberration, a sort of intellectual monster in a progeny of grave reveries and poised elucubrations, if the antagonism of Bodin to Agrippa, Cardano, and Wier were not sufficiently taken into account. It is, moreover, impossible to understand the meaning of the *Démonomanie* if due reckoning is not taken of the hidden direction of Bodin's polemics: Garosci discovers under the disguise of an offensive, apparently directed against village sorcerers, the true target against which Bodin is flinging his sulphureous bolts: "It was the category of cultivated, enlightened, sceptical persons, who professed to deny the phenomena to which the common people lent credence; of the persons who, at any rate, were against persecution motivated by purely religious and dogmatic reasons. These persons were only too currently accused of impiety, an accusation that Bodin has only too often to fight off himself . . . Maybe just because he was dangerously close to them, he tended to exaggerate enormously the distance between himself and those skeptics and atheists, and thought that nothing but good could accrue to himself and to the doctrine he championed from a harshly conducted persecution. Bodin's wrath against error and impiety is vented with particular violence against the laxity of magistrates and men of science" (p. 97).



Bodin's *angelical* and *demonological* vagaries are rightly seen by Garosci in the light of his general *Weltanschauung*, producing a definitely rationalized series of psychological orientations and attitudes: "One thing irks him above all others, one thing he considers blasphemy: any, no matter how small, humanization of Hebrew transcendence. Against Christianity, against Catholicism, against neo-Platonism or naturalistic pantheism, he retorts with only one criticism: these doctrines postulate the anthropomorphism of God, idolatry, the worship of essences different from God; this polemical retort sums up for Bodin the conception of humanity that Christianity introduced into the world and the Renaissance preserved" (p. 100).

Garosci unravels with a delicate hand the tangles that the coexistence of Renaissance thought side by side with uncompromising Hebrew transcendence has tied in Bodin's *Denksformen*, and marks where Bodin's personal attitude differs from that of his spiritual ancestors and teachers. "The absolutely transcendent idea of God becomes concrete, in him, in a passive attitude, which transforms what had been in his teachers, Moses Maimonides or Leone Ebreo, a living thought, into a mere acceptance" (p. 101).

Important and new are Garosci's observations on the *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*. This work must forever remain a book with seven seals for the adepts of *pure* literary criticism. It is in this part of Garosci's study that the fructification of the intellectual movement initiated in Italy by Croce's investigations in the historiographic field can be seen. Bodin's ideas on the historical process, on history-writing and on the various problems connected with it, are correlated with the whole historiographic and historicotheoretical movement of the Renaissance. Garosci shows an unusual acquaintance with the smallest anfractuosities of Reformation and Counter-Reformation historiography; Bodin's *Methodus* receives intense illumination from the *rapprochement* of it with the principal problems treated by the history-theorists of the German Reformation. Garosci rightly insists on the importance that the problem of time (periodisation) has for Bodin; an importance which cannot be grasped without familiarity with the work of Melancthon, Peucer, Seidenstücker, in the domain of chronology and genealogy. ("These ideas of didactic systematicalness certainly wrangled in the mind of Bodin", p. 131).

Garosci sees in the interest for the problem of periodisation the distinguishing mark between Bodin's historical mentality and that of Machiavelli. "For Machiavelli little matters that a fact may have taken place a thousand years before him, during his times, or, even, in that barbaric age when Totila with his barbarians devastated Tuscany. Wherever a magnanimous, a *virtuous* man — Theodoric, for instance — undertook the restoration of a political power, or of a State in Italy, there Machiavelli found contemporaries and teachers. He is, besides, dominated by the consciousness of the political medieval Renaissances which sways Sleidanus. In the chain, the series of succeeding years, he sees but a casual order of events; and it is easy to understand why neither he nor any of his direct pupils, nor any Italian atheist, has taken the trouble to refute directly and of set purpose the medieval and Christian scheme of chronological succession of the monarchies preparing the reign of Christ and the end of the world. Such a refutation had to come from a writer who possessed a real interest in the *religious* problem of time, time considered as the materialisation of a destiny set to man by the Deity; and an interest which contrasted — naturally — with



Christian and medieval conscience" (p. 169). The effect of Renaissance neo-Platonism on history-writing is ingeniously marked (in Patrizzi and Baudouin, for example); and certain affinities between Baudouin and Bodin are not forgotten.

In any book of Bodin the time-worn parallel between Bodin and Machiavelli is a *morceau obligé*; but as a good violin-virtuoso may play his *morceau obligé*, his *Wienawski*, with such feeling and style as to keep the interest of the jaded listener alive to the frazzled tunes, thus Garosci negotiates his Bodin-Machiavelli parallel in a fresh manner. Instead of marking the difference between the Italian and the Frenchman merely in external factors, in the diversity of the historical constellation of political forces expressing them (decentralization of Italy, motif of the charismatic leader; consolidation of the monarchy in France, preservation of bourgeois liberties, etc.), as his predecessors in political theory-writing have done, Garosci seizes the contrast between Bodin and Machiavelli in its core, in the diversity of their views about the origin of human society. It is in the light of this stimulating comparison between the passage in *Discorsi*, I, 2, and that in *République* (Lat. ed.), I, 6, that we are enabled to understand the inner motivation of Bodin's pronouncement "... multa quoque Machiavellus, primus quidem, ut opinor, post annos mille circiter ac ducentos quam barbaries omnia cumularat, de republica scripsit, quae omnium ore circumferuntur; nec dubium est, quin multo plura et verius ac melius scripturus fuerit, si veterum philosophorum et historicorum scripta cum usu conjunxisset" (*Methodus*, VI, p. 178).

The attempt to trace the ideological origin of Bodin's concept of sovereignty, which, to my knowledge, none of the previous interpreters of Bodin — Rehm excepted — has made, is Garosci's most original contribution. This genetical investigation, totally disregarded by Weill, Hancke, Dock, Jellinek, Bluntschli, Chauvire, is worthy of note.

"The subject matter of Bodin's meditations, and, before him, of the other commentators on Roman law (starting with Guillaume Budé), is represented by the *leges de majestate* and by the famous privilege of the *princeps legibus solutus*. While about the *solutio legibus* (which, more or less, meant to the men of the 16th century the same as did Machiavelli's thesis about the *azioni straordinarie*) the interpretation of Cujas multiplied doubt, limiting the *solutio legibus* to the original exemption from the *juris solemnitates* — the category of the *majestas*, (a qualification and a right which had been attributed, in Roman law, first to the collectivity of the people and then to the ruler, not only in regard to internal matters, but also to alliances and international relations, and which, finally, on account of the *crimen majestatis*, had a technical, specified meaning in penal law) lent itself in the most favorable manner to becoming the foundation of the new public law.

"There are three acceptations of the classic *majestas* known to the commentators, to Budé as well as to Baudouin (who wrote a Commentary *De Legibus majestatis et perduellionis*), which may have influenced Bodin, viz., the Ciceronian contraposition: *auctoritas senatus*, *majestas populi*; the description of the employment of the *crimen majestatis* as a tool of government and of authority of the supreme ruler in Tacitus; and, finally, the formula *comiter majestatem conservare*, included in the covenants of the Romans with the people they took under their protection, and which implied recognition of Roman

superiority. All three of these acceptations of the term *majestas* are observed and taken over by Bodin and are quoted in proof of the State's autonomy in regard to the subjects, to the consultative organs, and to the other sovereigns" (p. 212).

I must not omit mentioning that Garosci's exposé of Bodin's economic theories is the most coherent and searching that we have, and widely outdistances that given by the professional economists, such as, for instance, Oberfohre ("J. Bodin und seine Schule," *Weltwirtschaftl. Archiv*, April, 1913, pp. 249-85).

Garosci's study closes with a characterization of Bodin's conservatism which durably stamps on the reader's mind the profile of the Angevin thinker's political and moral physiognomy: "The affection for an old institution (which is one of the first aspects assumed by political consistency) is not the mere and simple acquiescence to a factual situation, whatever it may be, because it is bolstered up by force. A long lapse of time and many vicissitudes are necessary to form the sense of fidelity to institutions, the sense of historical continuity; and therefore Bodin, who was wiser when he spoke in pure terms of law than when he ambitiously tried to pierce the darkness of the future, requested, for the justification of an usurpation of sovereignty, a long, extremely long lapse of time; and the private law institution of the hundred-years prescription was a symbol of the fact that memory and tradition, which alone can justify a factual situation, in the absence of a religious ideal, of an express call of the Deity to free the oppressed, are not formed and are not effaced otherwise than by means of protracted efforts, not through a sudden and voluntary act. Thus, in Bodin's opinion, the juridical forms of the States are not any longer guided by fatality through prescribed mutations, are no improvisations of men, but *ordini antichi*, as Machiavelli would have put it, heritage of the fathers that must be preserved and augmented" (p. 322).

Finally, though not having purposely intended to follow Bodin's fortune in post-Renaissance times, Garosci throws out several precious hints for an exploration of the thus-far virgin field of the history of Bodinism.

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#### A NEW INTERPRETATION OF CORNEILLE'S *POLYEUCTE*

Abbé J. Calvet, *Polyeucte de Corneille*, Paris, Mellottée, Les Chefs-d'Œuvres de la Littérature Expliqués, 1934, 318 pp.

M. Calvet, a professor at the Catholic University of Paris, defends with vigor and skill his interpretation of *Polyeucte*: "Pour Corneille, *Le Cid*, *Cinna*, *Horace*, *Polyeucte*, sont des démarches de chrétien au même titre que la traduction de l'*Imitation*." *Polyeucte* completes his masterpieces of exaltation because Divine Grace is the protagonist; it is "une œuvre profondément religieuse, destinée à édifier." Grace has no accounts to render to our psychology and "la conversion de Félix n'est pas plus étrange que celle de Pauline". M. Calvet finds some touches where Corneille skillfully prepares us for the change in both, although Félix was less conscious of what was going on within him. *Polyeucte* himself is subconsciously jealous of Sévère. M. Calvet does not neglect the will as a dramatic motif in Corneille's work, and by it he refutes Sainte-Beuve's theory of a relation between Port-Royal and *Polyeucte*. But the will has reached

its apex when it is inspired and directed by Grace. M. Calvet does not argue directly for or against the conclusion of the Hôtel de Rambouillet: "le sujet de *Polyeucte* n'est pas propre au théâtre", but his whole analysis shows that he does not accept it. Nor does he mention in his discussion of the *Examen* Corneille's contention, expressed there and again in his *Discours sur la Tragédie*, that Aristotle's theory of the necessity of an error or frailty in the tragic hero is disproved. The two points have something in common. Doubtless in Aristotle's eyes, Polyeucte would be merely a madman, and hence lacking in the dignity requisite for a tragic hero. The destruction of the idols seems unjustified and excessive. If the martyr is perfect, it is on another plane than the human and which may well belong outside the theatre. M. Calvet's references to subconscious forces are rather startling, for the strength of Corneille's heroes lies in the clear understanding which directs the will. Hence on reading these notes, we may recall the remark of Jules Lemaitre: "Les tragédies classiques nous sont si connues que nous n'y pouvons trouver d'intérêt qu'en y découvrant des choses qui n'y sont peut-être pas." But even if we suspect that Corneille was not aware of all that his critic finds in *Polyeucte*, we must agree that the value of the play is enhanced by a new potential interest for our time. Masterpieces, as Doumic says of *Le Misanthrope*, have a life of their own, quite independent of what their creator gave them.

I would propose another interpretation of the psychology of Pauline. The usual one today explains her conversion on entirely human grounds, which are quite in accord with Corneille's conception of heroic character. Attracted by her husband's idealism, she finds in him a higher nobility than in Sévère and would rise to the same plane. We should not forget, however, Corneille's own interpretation in the *Examen* (1660). The conversions of Pauline and of Félix are miraculous, but "ne sortent pas de la vraisemblance . . . elles servent à remettre le calme dans les esprits de Félix, de Sévère et de Pauline, que sans cela, j'aurais bien de la peine à retirer du théâtre dans un état qui rendît la pièce complète, en ne laissant rien à souhaiter à la curiosité de l'auditeur." This indicates rather a desire to find a good ending for the play than any intention to edify by portrayal of the visible working of Grace.

Now there are in the play verses of which the interpretation varies, but which may throw a new light on Pauline's thought. Informed of the sacrilege in the temple, she declares her intention of pleading with her husband and with her father in order to avoid further catastrophe. She adds:

"Que si sur l'un et l'autre ils (mes pleurs) manquent de pouvoir,

Je ne prendrai conseil que de mon désespoir" (11. 819-820).

Petit de Julleville explains: "Elle pense déjà à implorer Sévère comme à sa suprême ressource." The verses seem to carry more than that and may imply her determination not to outlive her husband. In the next scene, when her appeal to Félix has proved fruitless, she says:

"Voyez-vous qu'avec lui (Polyeucte) vous perdez votre fille?" (1. 929), which seems to confirm the interpretation just given. She pleads with Polyeucte, equally in vain:

"Polyeucte. Vivez heureuse au monde, et me laissez en paix.

Pauline. Oui, je t'y vais laisser; ne t'en mets plus en peine;

Je vais . . ." (11. 1290-1293).

The unfinished threat seems to carry on the thought she has already twice suggested.

In her last conversation with her father and Polyeucte, she says to the former:

"Ma mort suivra la mort de ce cher criminel;  
Et les Dieux trouveront sa peine illégitime,  
Puisqu'elle confondra l'innocence et le crime" (11. 1622-1624).

Again, in her final conversation with Polyeucte, the same note returns:

"Je te suivrai partout, et je mourrai si tu meurs" (1. 1681).

No doubt is possible as to the meaning of the last two quotations. Pauline is firmly resolved to join her husband immediately in death; and there has been as yet no indication of a change of religion in her. This must be kept in mind for the interpretation of the scene in which her conversion takes place. Returning from the execution of Polyeucte, she deliberately provokes the fury of Félix:

"Père barbare, achève, achève ton ouvrage.  
Cette seconde hostie est digne de ta rage;  
Joins ta fille à ton gendre; ose; que tardes-tu?  
Tu vois le même crime, ou la même vertu:  
Ta barbarie en elle a les mêmes matières (11. 1719-1723).

Thirst for martyrdom? In part doubtless, but her very violence suggests strongly human passions also. The five following verses are meant to prepare us for her conversion, first motivated by witnessing her husband's death. They are inspired by the account of the martyrdom of Polyeucte as Corneille found it in his source: "sans autre baptême que de son sang." Then there is alternation between flashes of Grace and Pauline's determination to die at once. Since Félix has shown himself the implacable enemy of Christians, she is sure of bringing down destruction on herself by declaring that she is one of them:

"Je suis chrétienne enfin, n'est-ce pas assez dit?

Conserve en me perdant ton rang et ton crédit" (11. 1729-1730).

Two more lines in which Grace appears again are followed by renewed provocation:

"Mène, mène-moi voir tes Dieux que je déteste:

Ils n'en ont brisé qu'un, je briserai le reste" (11. 1735-1736).

Definite conversion is indicated in the last lines of her speech in which Corneille has skillfully combined the two motives: the will to die and the thirst for martyrdom, inspired by Grace:

"Ce n'est point ma douleur que par là je fais voir;  
C'est la grâce qui parle, et non le désespoir.  
Le faut-il dire encor, Félix, je suis chrétienne!  
Affermis par ma mort ta fortune et la mienne:  
Le coup à l'un et à l'autre en sera précieux,  
Puisqu'il t'assure en terre en m'élevant aux cieux" (11. 1741-1746).

The change is sudden: it is begun off stage and completed in this one speech, but we may find a large share of human motives rapidly indicated and a dramatic struggle. I cannot accept M. Calvet's findings in regard to Félix. His conversion may be justified theologically, but it is dramatically intolerable.

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## THE SOURCE OF THE NORDIC CONCEPT

Thor J. Beck, *Northern Antiquities in French Learning and Literature (1755-1855)*, Vol. I: *The "Vagina Gentium" and the Liberty Legend*, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1934.

The problem in comparative literature investigated by Dr. Beck is ambitious. It is also timely and significant. In the first of his three volumes devoted to the influence of Scandinavian antiquities on French letters from the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th, he reviews a number of the popular and oft-repeated theories — sometimes little more than catch phrases — which abound in the writings of the period. He traces the wide and uncritical credence given to the general idea (originating with Jordanes in the 6th century) that Scandinavia was a teeming storehouse of human life, a *vagina* or *officina gentium*, whence countless hordes of barbarians went forth to conquer the effete Roman world. He describes the rise and spread of such quaint misconceptions as the identification of the Scandinavians with the Celtic-Scythian Goths descended from Noah; the glorification of primitive Germanic tribal life as the immediate originator of modern democracy; the purification of Roman corruption by a concerted and divinely directed invasion by superior barbarians. Many of the questions here treated are brought down to the present. Hoops, Streitberg, Hermann Hirt and Kauffmann are cited on questions of Germanic origins and migrations; and it would seem, from some of the citations, that the ideas prevalent in the 17th and 18th centuries are not without some power over writers of today.

There is a melancholy lesson to be learned from the material assembled by Dr. Beck. If it was true in the 18th century that an essay on the *Germania* of Tacitus often revealed more about its author than its subject, the same holds true now; nor were the speculations about racial origins and racial superiority in the Age of Reason one whit more childish than some of those which create so much din in the air today. For this reason the survey of exploded, but not forgotten, fallacies makes somewhat depressing reading now. Can anything better be said of us, one wonders, 150 years from now?

On the other hand, some of the theories of Germanic origins seriously discussed in the 17th and 18th centuries are little else than imitations of the medieval Latin chroniclers. If William of Malmesbury and his contemporaries traced the ancestry of Hengist and Horsa back by way of Woden to Noah, the ponderous Johannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsala, does no better in his *De Omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus* (Rome, 1554), when he begins the history of the Goths with Japhet, son of Noah; and Robert Sheringham in his *De Anglorum Gentis Origine* (Cambridge, 1670), after seriously discussing this theory as well as the possible Trojan origin of the Saxons, comes to the conclusion given in Chapter 16, section 4: "Sem Gothicarum gentium patrem extitisse"! It is a sign of the native caution and good sense of the Danish writer, Ludvig Holberg, that after reviewing the fashionable theories of his day, he remains sceptical, and refuses to commit himself to legends about Sem and Japhet: "hvorfør jeg her intet om Japhets Sønner eller Sønner-Sønner og deres Posteritet melder, men vil begive mig til Dan, som af de gamle Skribenter forklares, at have været den første Konge udi Danmark" (*Introduction til de europæiske Rigers Historier*, Copenhagen, 1757, p. 552).

It is curious that one of the most important books glorifying Scandinavian origins was written by a Frenchman, in French. This was Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*. Mallet was, to be sure, a royal historiographer commissioned by the Danish crown. But even aside from him, some of the most enthusiastic proponents of the theory of Germanic superiority were French. The same paradox is to be found in the annals of philology and ethnology (See Georges Poisson, *Les Aryens*, Paris, 1934, pp. 14 ff., for examples). The pro-Germanic fervor of some French writers constitutes only one of the many interesting themes developed in Dr. Beck's book.

The study as a whole (of which two volumes are yet to appear) is extremely learned, and it covers a wide body of material in many languages. Since the analysis is made according to the various ideas prevalent at the time, a certain amount of repetition is inevitable; and the same authors must be studied perforce in various chapters. The omission of certain minor points of interest is also quite understandable.<sup>1</sup> But just because the material is complicated and polyglot, it should be presented in English which is as clear and simple as possible. Unfortunately this otherwise meritorious book abounds in such fantastically un-English expressions as: "the Tacitus-inspired anti-French jurist" (p. 67); "the Gothomaniac or more indefinitely 'Germanic' Rome-and Liberty theory" (p. 82); "the German nationalistic birth-pretensions" (p. 52); "the author's expression of gratitude and (not to forget!) his patriotic satisfaction" (p. 51); "the famous Vagina Gentium-and-Liberty aphorism" (p. 25). Mixed figures (e. g., p. 116: "a reign of Freedom and Equity was planted on the ruins of the Roman Empire by barbarians who issued from a womb of nations far in the North") and foreign expressions awkwardly introduced increase the difficulties of a reader. It is a pity that Dr. Beck has not done himself stylistic justice, and it is to be hoped that his succeeding volumes will be more idiomatical.

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#### THE LIBRARY OF JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

Marguerite Reichenburg, *Essai sur les Lectures de Rousseau*, Philadelphia, 1932, 120 pp.

During the peregrinations of his nomadic life, Jean-Jacques Rousseau was obliged, from time to time, to sell his books, when they became too cumbersome to transport. It is, therefore, not astonishing that none of his book-collections has been preserved, whereas the library of his socially successful opponent, Voltaire, was bought by the Empress of Russia and, to the delight of scholars, is now preserved in Leningrad. The dispersal of Rousseau's collections, of course, does not facilitate the study of his sources. It is further to be regretted that the catalogue which he prepared when he sold his books in England, in 1767, seems definitely lost. In order to make up, in a measure, for

<sup>1</sup> For instance, since Mallet ridiculed the idea that the Goths came from Gothland in Sweden (Beck, p. 25), one is curious to know why he writes as follows in his *Voyage en Norvège* (Geneva, 1786, p. 181): "Quand mon postillon m'apprit que j'étois en Vestro-Gothie, & par conséquent, suivant l'opinion commune, dans la patrie des anciens Visigoths qui ont brûlé, pillagé, saccagé Rome, l'Italie, & la plus belle partie de l'Europe, je ne pus me défendre d'un sentiment confus de surprise, d'admiration, & d'effroi." (Italics mine.—M. S.)



this series of misfortunes, Dr. Reichenburg has attempted to reconstitute the list of Rousseau's readings from his own writings, his correspondence, the testimonials of contemporaries, from books he owned — now in collectors' hands, — from lists of books he bought from publishers, etc. To that she has added a partial list of his early readings, and of some books borrowed from friends at different times. She has thus gathered 675 items which, though representing only a fragment of Rousseau's inquiries, nevertheless constitute a useful reference-list. It will help to establish a number of points of direct contact of Rousseau's thought with that of his predecessors or his contemporaries.

This compilation has been carefully made, in general. However, it could have been completed, for instance, by the identification of authors or titles which have escaped Dr. Reichenburg's investigation. The two least explainable omissions of this kind are No. 564, the *Secchia rapita*, which is listed as anonymous, whereas this well-known work is, of course, by Alessandro Tassoni; and No. 3, *Adam et Eve, tragédie*, which should read: Tanevot, Alexandre, "*Adam et Eve ou la Chute de l'Homme, Tragédie imitée du Paradis perdu de Milton, par M. Tanevot.*" It was composed in 1739, according to *La France Littéraire*, and printed in 1742, according to de Lérès (*Dictionnaire portatif du Théâtre*). The author of No. 147, *Considérations sur les Corps organisés* is M. Bonnet, and its date is 1762; the title of No. 148 is truncated and should read: *Considérations politiques et historiques sur l'Etablissement de la Religion prétendue réformée en Angleterre*, 1765; its author is the Marquis de Luchet. The author of No. 17, the well-known romance *Angola*, is the Chevalier de la Morlière. In No. 379, it should be observed that the first name of the translator of the *Amadis* is Nicolas, and, of course, not Lesieur (for le sieur) Herberay des Essarts. No. 430, the title *Misapouf* should read: *Le Sultan Misapouf et la Princesse Grisemine*; the author is the Abbé de Voisenon, and its date 1746. No. 601, *Tarzaï* is more than likely a misprint for *Tanzaï et Nédarmé* by Crébillon, 1734; No. 663, *Zulime* is, of course, the well-known tragedy of Voltaire, and should have been listed under his name; No. 70, the title of a work by the musicographer, Blainville, which Rousseau read, is the *Essai sur un troisième Mode*, 1751, as demonstrated by his letter to Raynal of May 30, 1754. Although this list of Rousseau's readings could be improved in detail, it offers a useful means of control in the study of the unfolding of his thought and his reaction to the intellectual atmosphere of his times.

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#### THE PROBLEM OF RIMBAUD

Robert Goffin, *Sur les Traces d'Arthur Rimbaud. Avec un Portrait de Valentine Hugo et trois Photographies inédites*, Paris, 1934, 79 pp.

M. Goffin's purpose is to combat the hypothesis of a Rimbaud "esprit angélique, certainement éclairé de la lumière d'en haut", held by P. Claudel and others. Specialists must pronounce on the value of the testimony gathered in this pamphlet. Unquestionably the author started with the conclusion which the evidence that he offers confirms: "Il me suffit à moi, d'imaginer Arthur Rimbaud tel qu'il fut, inverti, voyou, buveur, incroyant, emmuré vivant par des

conventions stupides." I would not prejudice the case: M. Goffin has brought interesting and sometimes new matter.

First, he retraces the journey of the poet from Brussels to Charleroi (Oct. 1870). Rimbaud had gone to solicit a position as reporter on *Le Journal de Charleroi*, managed by the father of an old school-friend. A nephew of the latter recalled that "Rimbaud fit figure de vagabond et de révolté dans le cadre de la famille", and was expelled from the house after a single interview. M. Goffin found also at Charleroi a grocer, born in 1850, by whom he was able to identify "le Cabaret Vert" as *La Maison Verte*, now a part of the Hôtel de l'Espérance, and "la fille aux tétons énormes" as a certain "Mia la Flamande."

In the museum and library at Charleville (Rimbaud's native village) are various documents and souvenirs. M. Goffin quotes in full an unsigned article from *Le Petit Ardennais* (Dec. 15, 1891), which gives a decidedly picaresque tint to the career of the poet, and a letter, from Isabelle Rimbaud, "probablement inconnue par tous les Rimbaldiens<sup>1</sup> et qui est d'une importance exceptionnelle, car elle démontrera avec évidence le soin avec lequel Isabelle a arrangé la légende de son frère de façon à en fabriquer un poète le moins vagabond et le moins voyou possible." This letter appeared in *Le Courrier des Ardennes* (Dec. 19, 1891), and was reprinted at about the same time in *Le Petit Ardennais* with a note signed by Henri Legret, in which he declares that he had no intention of injuring the memory of the poet, and that he is persuaded that Isabelle is correct in her statements. Finally, *Le Courrier des Ardennes* (Dec. 28) published a note from Frédéric Rimbaud, brother of the poet, who brands the first article in *Le Petit Ardennais* as a "récit fantaisiste". — The tombs of Arthur, of Vitalie, his sister, of his mother and of his maternal grandfather are at Charleville.

At Roches, M. Goffin met various people who had known the Rimbaud family. An old man remarks of Arthur: "Il jurait comme un païen et se moquait de moi parce que j'allais à messe le dimanche." (This was after the amputation of the poet's leg at Marseilles, *i. e.*, toward the end of his life.) The old man adds: "Mais dites bien que sa mère et sa sœur Isabelle étaient deux fausses bigotes et que tout le monde dans le village racontait que le capitaine (father of the poet) et Arthur n'avaient pas eu tous les torts de partir." This is in sharp contradiction with the letter by Isabelle already referred to.

At Attigny, M. Goffin found Dr. Beaudier who had treated Rimbaud about 1891. His memories confirm those of the old man at Roches. "Il (Arthur) ne sortait de son silence tête que pour jurer, comme un païen, quand je donnais des soins . . . C'est alors que je conseillai des calmants et des narcotiques dont il abusa au point que je dus intervenir . . . Je suis aussi certain des sentiments athées de Rimbaud. Au cours de mes entretiens, il m'apparut que le malade entrevoyait une fin prochaine, ce qui ne l'empêchait pas de jurer et d'avoir certaines exclamations qui en disent long sur ses prétendues convictions religieuses."

At Brussels, M. Goffin examined the documents relating to the trial of Verlaine in 1873. He finds in them and in certain poems, — he quotes Ver-

<sup>1</sup> This letter is known to students of Rimbaud. See S. A. Rhodes' review of J. M. Carré, *Lettres de la Vie littéraire d'Arthur Rimbaud*, in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXIII, 1932, p. 346.

laine's sonnet, *Le Bon Disciple*, — final proof of pathological relations between the two poets. — He comments also on an interesting letter from Verlaine to Rimbaud, dated April 2, 1872: "C'est charmant l'*Ariette* oubliée, paroles et musique! Je me le suis fait déchiffrer et chanter. Merci de ce délicat envoi." Does this signify that "*l'Ariette oubliée*" was a poem composed by Rimbaud and sent to Verlaine?

In conclusion M. Goffin brings formal charges of wilful falsification against Isabelle Rimbaud and Paterné Berrichon, brother-in-law of the poet. He quotes two contradictory statements from two books of the latter, written at an interval of 15 years. He suggests that both Paul Claudel and Jacques Rivière are not above reproach. For M. Goffin: "Il faut . . . avoir le courage ou la pudeur d'expliquer que l'œuvre d'Arthur Rimbaud ne se révèle et ne se comprend que sous le signe de l'homosexualité."

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#### AN EXCEPTIONAL RUMANIAN NOVEL

C. Stere, *In preajma revoluției*, Roman, Prolog: *Smaragda Theodorovna*, Ediția III, Editura "Adevărul", [1934], 338 pp.

Constantin Stere was born in Bessarabia more than 60 years ago, when this large slice of Moldavian land was under the Czar's rule. His childhood and adolescence spent on the ancestral estate and in Russian schools, as well as his manhood blended with revolutionary adventures, naturally left an indelible imprint in his heart and mind. Although later Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Jassy, leader of the *Poporanist* (Populist) movement in literature and politics, founder and editor of the influential monthly *Viața Românească* (The Rumanian Life), and, finally, prominent member of Parliament and center of many a political storm, the veteran fighter emerges, at an age when others prepare themselves for retirement, as a novelist of exceptional qualities.

Like Clemenceau, he tried his hand, in earlier stages of his career, at writing, and succeeded in giving pages of interest—especially, literary criticism in which shone his vast store of information and profound scholarship; but never did he reach such heights of artistic accomplishment as in his serial novel, started about three years ago and at present in its fifth volume.

From the very prologue of *On the Eve of the Revolution*, the book to which we now give our attention, and which is a complete novel in itself, *Smaragda Theodorovna*, an epoch and a province alive to the smallest detail are revived.

*Smaragda Theodorovna* symbolizes Stere's childhood, since an autobiography it most certainly is. It includes much *Dichtung* and much more *Wahrheit*. Smaragda is the mother of Vania Răutu, as Stere chooses to name his *alter ego*. And the character palpitates with intensity in the well-balanced, architectural background of Bessarabia of more than 60 years ago. It is a dangerously tender subject, developed carefully and successfully only by the wisdom of an author like Stere, steeled in the fires of experiences of a life-time.

In order to save her father's estate, Smaragda, a tiny girl of 15, marries the boyar, Iorgu Răutu, three times as old and a true Moldavian "bear", rude and

awkward outwardly, but kind and loving at heart. The elderly husband cannot, however, understand the child recently recalled from her French boarding school under the supervision of Madame Carotte, a former circus lady. Smaragda's yearning for youthful activities, her cloistered existence in the wilderness of Năpădeni, the estate on the shores of the Dniester, her revolt at becoming for the third time a mother, at the age of 19, the attempt of the Polish count, Przewicki, to seduce her and Smaragda's salvation and devotion to the traditional duties of a matron of the Bessarabian gentility, as well as the delicacy with which the author touches upon the mother's lack of love for her third undesired child, Vania, the hero,—all these sentiments are depicted with masterly strokes.

As far as the hero is concerned, we retain from the prologue of his own story, to be continued, the fact that unwanted, from his very first breath, he had to battle inch by inch in order to gain ground in life. This was the Nemesis of Vania Răutu.

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#### ITALIAN LITERARY QUARTERLY

**A**N event of paramount importance on the Italian literary horizon recently was the award of the Nobel Prize to Luigi Pirandello, the paradoxical Sicilian writer. In cognizance of this signal honor let it be said in passing that Pirandello, despite vigorous reaction of late against his dramatic formulae, took his place long ago as a leading dramatist in the theatre of the world. His dramatic theme could be summarized briefly in that man, the protagonist, is victim of delusory happenings in his life, which distort his character at every turn: in short he is the automaton ever in quest of self-identity. His character, philosophically put, is in a fluid state, never fixed, never tangible. Or, to put it more practically, man is in search of his own definition which is never forthcoming, for, exterior forces in life, the conventions of his fellowmen render him stranger to himself than to his neighbor. And, as a critic has recently stated this problem,<sup>1</sup> Pirandello has, throughout his literary career, been juggling with the problem of reality. In his plays, short stories, essays, poems, and novels, the question "what is reality?" is an ever recurrent theme. In his plays he gave vigorous expression to a despairing outlook on life. Despite concentration on metaphysical problems Pirandello's plays are frequently sprinkled with brilliant wit. His comedies and other dramas reveal his ability to vitalize philosophical questions through the medium of characters who are intensely alive. Their conversations are always marked by sensibility and wit.

It would be opportune at this moment to say a word with regard to this distinguished dramatist's biography. Born at Girgenti, Sicily, in 1867, he started along technical studies which he soon forsook for the liberal arts. From Rome he went to the University of Bonn where he received the doctorate in philosophy and linguistics. At that university he wrote the thesis, *Sounds and Development of Sounds in the Girgenti Dialect*. Though he started very young indeed along his profession in letters, it is to be recalled that he turned to the theatre almost exclusively when he was well in his forties. Pirandello's principal contributions to the theatre are *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, *As You De-*

<sup>1</sup> Associated Press, Rome, Nov. 8, 1934.

sire Me, Tonight We Improvise, Right You Are, Henry IV. With all his success in the theatre, it must be said, however, that his greatest achievement in literature was attained by his novel, *The Late Mattia Pascal*. Notable among his other novels are, *One, None and a Hundred Thousand*, *Shoot*, *The Old and the Young*. All of his important literary creations have been translated into the principal foreign languages.

In this connection could be discussed recent developments relative to a Governmental subsidy of a national theatre. In the past few years, be it recalled, Silvio D'Amico, keen dramatic critic, championed the cause to bring aid to an ailing theatre. By way of articles, essays, brochures, and whatnot, D'Amico succeeded in arousing nation-wide attention to a moribund art. He has recently collected these scattered articles and essays, *Teatro italiano* (Milan), a volume in which he explains the ills of the theatre and analyses an endless number of plays. Apropos of this, the *London Times Literary Supplement* (June 21, 1934), has this to say: "An acute critic, Sr. Silvio D'Amico, in a book he has just published on the *Teatro italiano*, states that the 'Italian theatrical production is passing through a crisis.' This conclusion at the end of an essay of about 300 pages, in which he analyses a great number of plays, some very notable indeed, and where he exalts the drama of the 20th century, all permeated by 'spiritual problems', and intensely national as against the despicable, realistic *petit bourgeois* drama of the 19th century, of French derivation, comes somewhat unexpectedly and is a little disconcerting. Yet one should not be surprised at that. Little misfortunes of the kind happen often to those critics who are in the habit of taking 'the theatrical production' as a whole, instead of the single plays, and who indulge in grouping the various works into this or that *genre*, in finding out their literary inspiration and in tracing the social and psychological motives of the moment which may have influenced them. . . . All this does not mean that Sr. D'Amico is wrong. On the contrary he gives a picture of the Italian drama of a half-a-century ago and of the present one which is quite correct. Where he is wrong is in taking as representative drama what was then, and is now, simply the fruit of the fashion, and therefore transient in itself and negligible from an artistic point of view. Everybody will agree with him that the drama of the end of the 19th century was, as a whole, bourgeois, realistic, inspired by Antoine's *Théâtre Libre*, by Zola and Becque; but there are plays by Giacosa, Praga, Bracco, Lopez, Verga, and G. Anton Traversi which, though belonging to that period, are still given today successfully because they had evidently in themselves something more than the mood of the moment. Today drama, we are told, is intellectual, spiritual, psychological, fantastic, crepuscular, futuristic, and whatnot. The authors do not call their works plays: they call them 'grotesques', 'adventures', 'fables', 'perplexities', and so on. Undoubtedly it is an anti-bourgeois, and an anti-realistic drama. What the poor man of the 19th century thought real was but a deception of his senses. There is nothing absolute, all is relative."

And, now, by way of conclusion, it is of interest to note that D'Amico's panacea for a National Institute of Drama, after years of delay, indecision, difficulty, seems finally to have taken crystallization, according to a recent dispatch which states that Premier Mussolini "with whom to think is to act, has set about creating a national Fascist theatre as an essential part of his program for greater

Italy. Il Duce is planning on a large scale. With the expert advice of Pirandello, the first step will be to house a central theatre in the new marble Littorio Palace as the spring-board of an anticipated expenditure of 300,000,000 lire. With the 'open sesame' of this stupendous sum and the power of the Fascist party behind him, Pirandello has sketched out an ambitious program, some essentials of which can be divulged here. A company soon will be formed and three others will be organized later so that a repertory of four plays will be ready for presentation. Fascist youth will be encouraged to take active interest in the administration of the theatre, which will be financed with the monies received on copyrights held by the Government. Even a Shakespeare presentation must pay 'Author's rights' in Italy. Nearly 1,000,000 lire a year is collected through these copyrights and donated to the Italian Academy for distribution as prizes. . . . 'The theatre is fast dying in Italy', Pirandello said. 'It was one of ancient Rome's great institutions. We need as a reborn nation, a theatre which reflects the trend of national life'."

O. A. BONTEMPO

CITY COLLEGE, NEW YORK

#### FACULTY NOTES

ADAMS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, ALAMOSA, COLO. Dr. G. L. Trager, who was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1932 by Columbia on his dissertation, *The Use of the Latin Demonstratives (Especially Ille and Ipse) Up to 600 A.D., as the Source of the Romance Article*, has been appointed Asst. Professor.

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE, ROCK ISLAND, ILL. On March 22-23 a student-faculty project, "Carnival of the Nations", will be held, with an expected attendance of 2,000 persons, one feature of which will be the exhibition of the principal Modern Language periodicals published in America. The *ROMANIC REVIEW* and the *Spanish Review* are participating in the exhibition.

BELOIT COLLEGE, BELOIT, WIS. On Dec. 12, 1934, Tristan Bernard's *L'Ecole des Charlatans* was performed by "Les Enfants sans Souci" under the able direction of Prof. Mary E. Storer, whose recent volume, *Contes de Fées du Grand Siècle*, was favorably reviewed by outstanding scholars, among others in the *Revue de Littérature Comparée*. Her scholarly and professorial work has been deemed excellent.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE, N. Y. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred by Columbia upon Dr. P. J. Salvatore on his dissertation, *The Unpublished Plays of Favart and the Rise of Popular Comic Opera*. J. J. Spagnoli is absent on leave completing the requirements for the doctorate at Columbia; his dissertation deals with the social ideas of Marcel Proust.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Director of the Summer Session, Prof. C. U. Clark, whose volume, *Voyageurs, Robes Noires, et Concreurs de Bois*, has been received with much interest, both in America and abroad, is spending the semester in Europe. Dr. E. Cross presented some considerations on the Germanic-Romance linguistic frontier at the Belgian Division of the Modern Language Association of America.

COLLEGE OF NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y. Miss Marie-Louise Forasté, who is doing graduate work at Columbia, has been added to the staff. Before the Bel-



gian Division of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, she read a paper on *The International Fame of Emile Verhaeren*.

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAMSBURG, VA. Prof. A. G. Ryland has been awarded the Ph.D. degree by Harvard on his dissertation, *The Money Question in French Comedy of the 19th Century (1795-1870)*. Miss Beverly Massei, who has spent two years in graduate study in the Univ. of Florence, has been engaged as Professor of Italian.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Dept. of French: Prof. Paul Hazard, of the Collège de France, who was Visiting Professor during the past semester, has recently published the important work, *La Crise de la Conscience Européenne (1680-1715)* in 3 vols. The following Ph.D. dissertations have been accepted: Helen B. Coulter, *The Prose Work and Technique of Jules Renard*; E. Gianturco, *The Genesis of the Anti-Jacobin Ideology (Four Aspects of Joseph de Maistre)*, dealing with the influence of the thought of G. B. Vico on that of de Maistre; M. Lifschitz-Golden, *Les Juifs dans la Littérature française du Moyen Age*. Dept. of Spanish: The quarterly journal, *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, has recently been founded as the organ of the Instituto de las Españas, with Prof. F. de Onís as Director and A. del Río, J. G. Ruiz and M. J. Benardete as Editors. Mrs. E. T. Wellman, of the Univ. of Puerto Rico, has been granted the Ph.D. degree on her dissertation, *The Evolution of the Ideas of Amado Nervo*. Columbia College—Dept. of French: The dissertation of S. R. Mitchneck, "Yon" or "La Venjance Fromondin", *A 13th-Century Chanson de Geste of the Lorraine Cycle, Published for the First Time (MS 1622 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris)*, which has been accepted by Columbia, is being issued by the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. I. F. Fraser's interesting *Bibliography of French-Canadian Poetry*, the publication of which has been made possible by a generous grant made by the Carnegie Corporation, will soon appear under the imprint of the above *Publications*. The third edition of Dr. J. L. Perrier's *Short History of Spanish Literature* has been issued by the Bayard Press.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE, SAN RAFAEL, CALIF. Prof. M. W. Nichols is issuing in the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*, in collaboration with Mrs. L. B. Kinnaird, *A Bibliography of Articles in General Literary Criticism in "Nosotros", Volumes I-LXXVI*.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA. Prof. N. A. Goodyear again directed the *Institut Français*. The faculty of this second session was composed of Prof. Goodyear, Prof. J. G. Stipe, Asst. Prof. W. A. Strozier, M. René Hardré, Assoc. Professor of Romance Languages at the Woman's College of the Univ. of North Carolina, in the capacity of Visiting Professor sent by the French Government, and Mr. C. Lynes, Jr., recently returned from a year's study in France.

GETTYSBURG COLLEGE, GETTYSBURG, PA. The doctoral dissertation of Prof. A. Bachman, *Censorship in France from 1715 to 1750: Voltaire's Opposition*, recently appeared in the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*, and has aroused interest in scholarly circles.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Every Romance scholar in the United States and abroad will learn with satisfaction that the eminent Romance scholar, Prof. Emeritus C. H. Grandgent, has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. A letter addressed to the *Publications*, praising its unremitting efforts in Romance scholarship, was gratefully received. Volumes XV-XVI of the *Harvard*

*Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* contain the following valuable contributions: H. M. Smyser, *The Engulfed Lucerna of the "Pseudo-Turpin"*; B. J. Whiting, *Proverbs in Certain Middle English Romances in Relation to Their French Sources*; P. H. Harris, *The Lost Chapter of Cochbin's "Voyage d'Italie"*: A Document of the De Lancey Collection; R. L. Hawkins, *Rachel and Arsene Houssaye: Unpublished Letters*; A. J. Denomy, *An Anglo-French Life of Saint Agnes*; M. Françon, *Rondeaux d'Amour du XVe Siècle*.

HOLLINS COLLEGE, VA. Miss Kathryn L. Wood (Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, 1934) has been engaged as Instructor in French to replace Miss Mary Charles.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C. Asst. Prof. T. A. Daley, who received the degree of Docteur de l'Université de Paris with honorable mention on his dissertation, *Jean de la Taille (1533-1609), Etude historique et littéraire*, has in print Dumas' *La Tour de Nesle*, which he has edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. Prof. Claudine Gray, Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages, has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. Miss Rose-Marie Daele, who is completing her work for the doctorate at Columbia, is publishing *Short French Poems for Recitation*, with an Introduction by Prof. Gray.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON. Prof. Bert E. Young has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE. Prof. J. Robles Pazos has recently published *Lope de Vega, "Cancionero Teatral"*.

MINER TEACHERS COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, D. C. Prof. W. N. Rivers has in preparation a volume, *A Concordance of the Aesthetic Elements in Charles Baudelaire*.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, ILL. Professors J. G. Fucilla and J. M. Carrière are issuing *D'Annunzio Abroad: A Bibliographical Essay*, with the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. Prof. Fucilla is author of numerous studies on Italian literature.

SORBONNE, PARIS. Prof. A. Jeanroy, the world-renowned Provençal scholar and author of such outstanding works as *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique française*, *La Poésie des Troubadours* (2 vols.), etc., has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. Prof. Gustave Cohen, whose numerous publications include *Ecrivains français en Hollande*, *Le Livre du Régisseur du Mystère de la Passion*, *Chrétien de Troyes*, will lecture this year at the Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge.

TEXAS STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, DENTON. Prof. Wm. D. Moore has completed the translation into English prose of *The Araucana*. Prof. Moore has assembled a very fine collection of various editions and translations of this epic.

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE, LUBBOCK. The doctoral dissertation, *The French Neo-Classical Tragedy in Spain in the 18th Century*, of Prof. C. B. Qualia, which has been accepted by the Univ. of Texas, is being prepared for publication.

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND. Prof. K. R. Gallas, who received last year an honorary degree from Tufts College and visited several American institutions, addressed, on Nov. 16, 1934, the Cercle Français de l'Université

d'Amsterdam giving his impressions of America and American culture. It may be noted that his impressions of Columbia, Harvard, Johns Hopkins and Yale were most favorable.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, N. Y. *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature*, by L. P. Kurtz, was recently issued by the Publications of the Institute of French Studies.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. The doctoral dissertation of F. R. Bryson, *The Point of Honor in 16th-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman*, which has been accepted, will be issued by the Publications of the Institute of French Studies.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY. Dept. of French: G. Bonno, who has recently published *Correspondance littéraire de Suard avec le Margrave de Bayreuth*, has been promoted from Assoc. Professor to Professor of French. Instructor H. M. Chevalier has issued a translation of *Man's Fate* by André Malraux. Doctoral dissertations accepted include: E. F. Meylan, *Amaury Bouchard, sa Vie et ses Œuvres: Contribution à l'Etude du Platonisme en France au XVIe Siècle*; Sister Innocentia Richards, *The Mysticism of Paul Claudel*. Doctoral dissertations in preparation consist of W. F. Aggeler, *The Idea of Poetry in the Second Half of the 18th Century*; T. Bowie, *The Influence of Painting on French Literary Doctrines from 1840 to 1890*. In March and April, Prof. Walther von Wartburg of Leipzig will give a course of ten lectures at the University on the subject, "Du latin au roman". Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese: Prof. E. Buceta is spending the present spring semester on semi-sabbatical leave in Spain. Prof. R. Schevill attended the annual meeting of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America in December at Swarthmore College where he read a paper on *Erasmus and the Fate of a Liberal Movement at the Beginning of the 16th Century*. The following doctoral dissertations have been accepted: T. A. Gabbert, *The Dramas of Dumas Père in Spain (1834-1850): A Bibliographical Study*; Dorothy C. Clarke, *The "Diversas Rimas" of Vicente Espinel: Critical Edition*. Doctoral dissertations in preparation include: J. G. Bickley, *Life and Works of Rafael Delgado*; A. R. López, *Vocabulary to the Realistic Novel from 1620 to 1660*; R. E. Warner, *Life and Works of Ignacio Manuel Altamirano*. Dept. of Italian: Prof. R. Altrocchi, who was recently awarded by the Italian Government the "Medaglia d'Argento di Benemerenzza" for his work in furthering Italian culture in the United States, is publishing *Deceptive Cognates* and the *Cantoun de Sant Alexis*, an 18th-century Provençal parody of the legend of St. Alexis. M. De Filippis is preparing for publication his doctoral dissertation, *The Life and Works of G. B. Manso*. C. S. Singleton is in Italy gathering material for his dissertation on *Pageantic Poetry of the Quattrocento*.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES. Prof. César Barja is publishing *Libros y Autores Contemporáneos*, which is the third and last volume of his series dealing with the history of Spanish literature. A *Spanish Grammar for Colleges* is being prepared by Prof. L. D. Bailiff.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR. Prof. Hugo P. Thieme, whose valuable contributions include *La Littérature française au XIXe Siècle, Guide bibliographique de la Littérature française de 1800-1905, Essai sur l'Histoire du Vers français, Essais sur la Civilisation française, Bibliographie de la Littérature française de 1800 à 1930* (3 vols., recently awarded the Prix de l'Académie

Française), has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS. Doctoral dissertations accepted include: H. E. Clefton, *The Religious Thought of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*; R. H. Olmsted, *A Critical Study of the Autographed MS of the Play "El Conde Don Pero Vélez y Don Sancho el Deseado" of Luis Vélez de Guevara*; J. R. Owre, *The "Poema de Fernán González": A Paleographic Edition of the Escorial MS IV-B-21, with Notes and Etymologic Vocabulary*.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA. W. A. Dorrance has in preparation a doctoral dissertation, *The Survival of French in the Old Ste. Genevieve District (Missouri)*.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, DURHAM. Prof. C. S. Parker's *French Stories of the Past and Present* has appeared. *A Critical Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, and Pictures Concerning Alexander the Great*, collected and classified by Asst. Prof. J. Berzunza is in preparation. Mr. L. L. Durkee has been appointed Graduate Assistant in Languages.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE. Prof. R. P. Bowen, who was on leave of absence last year, has returned. J. B. Rael, who has been Instructor in Spanish since 1927, has accepted a position as Instructor in Stanford University. Doctoral dissertations in preparation include: Mrs. Edna Landros, *The Latinity of Isidor of Seville: A Linguistic Study of His Histories*; W. T. Starr, *Romain Rolland's Internationalism*. Assoc. Prof. C. B. Beall has published *Chateaubriand et Le Tasse*.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA. Prof. Albert Schinz, who has contributed such important studies on Rousseau as *J. J. Rousseau, a Fore-runner of Pragmatism*, *La Pensée religieuse de Rousseau et ses récents Interprètes*, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Interprétation nouvelle*, etc. has been elected a member of the Honorary Committee of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. The following doctoral dissertations, which have been accepted, are in process of publication: Helen A. Shaw, *Conrad Badius and the "Comédie du Pape Malade"*; Anna E. Shumway, *A History of the "Minerve Française"*; R. S. Sibbald, *The Marionettes in the North of France*. Prof. D. Vittorini has recently completed a volume on Pirandello; Dr. M. H. Stansbury has written a study on contemporary French novelists.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE. The following promotions have been made: J. C. Chessex, from Asst. Professor of Assoc. Professor of French; C. Garcia-Prada, from Asst. Professor to Assoc. Professor of Spanish; Lurline V. Simpson, from Instructor to Asst. Professor of French.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. *Dept. of Spanish*: The contents of the March, 1935, issue of *The Spanish Review*, of which Prof. J. W. Barlow is General Director and Dr. Barbara Matulka is Editor, will include: Pablo Gargallo, *Sculptor of Masks* with four illustrations, *Española*, *Picador*, *Arlequin*, *Pablo Gargallo*, and text by M. Raynal, P. Courthion, L. Artigas, P. Fierens, E. Tériade, J. Sacs, M. Alcantara; D. L. Canfield, *Spanish Literature in Indian Languages of New Spain*; Josephine de Boer, *Mallorca, Haven of Writers*; J. R. Spell, *An 18th-Century Liberal Review of Reviews: El espíritu de los mejores diarios*; E. B. Place, *The First Novel of Letters: the "Proceso de cartas de amores" of Juan de Segura*; R. Marshak, *On the Octa-Centennial Celebration of Maimónides: A Reappraisal*; Madaline W. Nichols, *The Gaucho "Mo-*

tif" in *Río de la Plata Life*; E. R. Martínez, *Borinquén: Panorama de vida puertorriqueña*; reviews of recent books of Spanish and Spanish-American interest by R. B. Williams and J. E. Englekirk; Spanish Class-Texts; Spanish Activities. A. C. Jennings is preparing a doctoral dissertation on *A Linguistic Study of the Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo*.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE, WELLESLEY, MASS. New members of the Dept. of French include: R. E. de Messières, Visiting Prof. of French; Nicolette Pernot, Lecturer. Asst. Prof. Andrée Bruel has published *Romans français du Moyen Age: Essais*.

WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY, MORGANTOWN. To help take care of an increase in enrollment of nearly one-third over last year, A. C. McBride was recalled in September from Bordeaux, where he was on leave, working on a doctoral dissertation. G. D. Stathers has been employed as Graduate Assistant.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS. R. F. French has in preparation a doctoral dissertation, *Francesco d'Antonio da Fiorenza, Cieco*, in which he attempts to prove that Francesco Cieco da Ferrara and Francesco Cieco da Fiorenza are one and the same person.

YALE UNIVERSITY, NEW HAVEN, CONN. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred upon N. H. Brooks on his dissertation, *A Parnassian Poet: Jean Labor*. The following dissertations are in preparation: G. Gilmore, *Stéphane Mallarmé*; G. P. Borghum, *Realism in French Poetry of the 17th Century*; L. A. Schmidt, *Octave Feuillet romancier*; C. W. Tenney, *Auguste Barbier*; W. D. Patton, *Diderot and Music*; J. L. Firth, *The Poetry of Maurice Rollinat*; P. J. Sturm, *J. Joubert*; A. V. Goldiere, *Charles de Bernard*; A. Vázquez, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Gobernador de Siena*. Yale Romanic Studies, Vols. VII-VIII, contain contributions by Prof. A. Feuillerat, *Comment Marcel Proust a composé son roman*, and T. Andersson, *Carlos María Ocantos: A Study of Indigenous, French and Spanish Elements in His Work*. Volumes in preparation include: A. R. Morehouse, *Voltaire and Jean Meslier*; R. T. Hill, *Two Old French Poems on the Life of Saint Tibaut*; J. F. Jackson, *The Life and Works of Louise Colet*; R. C. Bates, *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*; A. Vázquez and R. S. Rose, *Unpublished Letters of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*; A. Feuillerat, *Paul Bourget*.

CAROLINE MATULKA

NEW YORK CITY

#### IN MEMORIAM: GUSTAVE LANSON

Gustave Lanson, formerly Professor of French Literature at the Sorbonne and Honorary Director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, died at his Paris residence on Dec. 15 at the age of 77.

The passing of this great scholar and teacher marks the close of a stirring epoch in the history of education in France, for rarely has one man ever succeeded, by the sheer force of his amazing intellect, in so completely dominating his time as did — to quote the words of his colleague and pupil, Prof. Gustave Cohen (*Nouvelles Littéraires*, Dec. 22, 1934) — "ce savant homme et ce fin lettré qui était avant tout un honnête homme". Indeed, one may well characterize — and it is possible that future generations may do so — the first score



of years of the 20th century as the Lansonian period, since the teaching of all literatures, whether within France or without, has, to a greater or less extent, felt the impress of his rigorous method and remarkable personality. The very fact that, even in death, the mention of his name should stir the slumbering fires of hostile criticism is a testimonial to his astonishing achievements, whether one may approve of them or not. Like Calvin, Lanson had either ardent and unswerving disciples or bitter and uncompromising adversaries, for his vigorous and penetrating intellect, which expressed itself so tersely and so unhesitatingly, did not permit a state of neutrality to exist among his contemporaries. Possibly future generations may be sufficiently free from bias to judge fairly of the work of such a gifted man — and that, notwithstanding the fact that four centuries have not been enough in the case of Calvin. So we are not surprised to read in *Gringoire* (Dec. 21) — after a series of pointed criticisms made by Lanson on Gautier, Banville, Baudelaire, Verlaine and Mme de Noailles, as well as a list of authors not mentioned by him, which includes Barbey d'Aureville, Jules Laforgue, Mirbeau, Jules Renard, Vallès, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Desbordes-Valmore, etc. — the following denunciation of the masterly *Histoire de la Littérature française*: "Heureux sont-ils d'avoir échappé à ce débordement d'imprécations séniles, à ce déluge de non-sens, de contre-sens, de pataqués et de niaiseries redondantes!" And yet the book was written in the 1880's — was Lanson, may we ask, born "sénile"? — and the same journal admits that it "s'est vendu à plus de 200,000 exemplaires" — which can only imply that these "200,000" persons (among whom the writer of these lines is happy to include his name) are far below the average in intelligence. All of which merely means that Gustave Lanson never feared to express his sincere and carefully deduced opinion, regardless of consequences. And for that the undersigned, who differed heartily with him on various occasions, has the highest admiration for his character and the profoundest respect for his convictions.

Gustave Lanson was born at Orléans on Aug. 5, 1857. After having studied in the Lycée of his native city and that of Charlemagne at Paris, he entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure in 1876, where, however, the instruction was — to quote again Prof. Cohen in *Nouvelles Littéraires* — "trop verbale, trop rhétorique pour satisfaire cet esprit scientifique et précis." There followed a few years of teaching in the Lycée of Toulouse, which further revealed "l'inefficacité de la critique jaculatoire, la nécessité de démontrer devant des apprentis le mécanisme intérieur du chef-d'œuvre." Another five months of teaching at St. Petersburg in 1886 — where he was called to instruct the Czarevitch, the future Nicholas II, in French literature — confirmed him in this viewpoint, with the result that he was happy to return to the Lycées Michelet, Charlemagne, Louis-le-Grand at Paris, where he could test his methods and work out his ideas. In the meantime, he presented at the Sorbonne his doctoral thesis, *Nivelle de la Chaussée et la Comédie larmoyante* (1888) and wrote his *Histoire de la Littérature française* (1894), which, according to Prof. Cohen, "restera sans doute toujours le compagnon de l'étudiant et le bréviaire du lettré."

After having served from 1894 to 1903 as Maître de Conférence at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lanson was appointed to the Chair of French Literature in the Sorbonne. At that time the so-called Golden Age of "eloquence" in French literature criticism — with such outstanding names as Brunetière,



Petit de Julleville, Larroumet, Emile Deschanel, Faguet, Jules Lemaitre, etc. — was drawing to its close. Students, accustomed to the expansive, oratorical type of professor, were at first not deeply impressed by this frail-looking, slow-speaking teacher, but they soon discovered that, beneath that affable exterior, was concealed the determination of a Calvin. He took his calling most seriously: he felt that his duty was to make them work and, above all, to make them think. And this he did. He was, furthermore, just as unsparing with himself as he was with them. He could have well satisfied himself with being an excellent commentator of texts, as shown by his *Bossuet* (1891), his *Boileau* (1892) and his *Corneille* (1896), but no! As M. Cohen so well puts it, "il fera la révision de ses valeurs, il fera table rase de sa propre production, il recommencera toute son œuvre *ab ovo*. Il considère qu'il ne sait rien et qu'il a tout à apprendre, que l'histoire littéraire qu'il a écrite est à recommencer, qu'elle doit être non le fait d'un seul, mais de plusieurs, qu'il faut instituer une vaste enquête d'exploration du passé, pour laquelle une armée de travailleurs est nécessaire. Cette armée n'existe pas, il la créera. Il lui faut une méthode, une doctrine, des directives, il les donnera. Il lui faut un chef: il le sera." And the Lanson method of research, based upon an exact, scrupulous and complete study of all accessible documents, was born! The system of carefully controlled *fiches*, containing every detail necessary to envisage the truth, was inaugurated! Notwithstanding the pretensions of his adversaries, he never failed to admit that his judgment might be fallible, that he might misinterpret the evidence, as the various changes in the successive editions of his own works reveal. But when they charge him with being imperious, he might reply that, though, unlike Calvin, he did not believe that he had discovered the truth, he had at least found a method of attaining the truth. Consequently, French education, under the impulse of this gifted and powerful, — though, to a certain degree, one-tracked — mind, was destined to undergo the most complete revolution that it had experienced in centuries.

It was but natural, then, that Lanson's method — the one idea that absorbed his entire life — should become a kind of religion for his disciples, and that some of their unrestrained outbursts would touch his adversaries to the quick. The first rumblings of a revolt were heard in 1907 and, a year or two later, the storm broke. The adherents of the old school — "de notre chère éloquence", as one stated to the writer of these lines — turned their most powerful guns on the Lansonian fortress, and for a time it seemed that it would be demolished. He was accused of having destroyed the very fundamentals of French education and — to make political capital of his research-doctrines — of Germanizing the French youth. And these were very serious charges, with a war in the offing. But throughout all this *Sturm und Drang*, Lanson remained unperturbed. He accepted the burdens imposed upon him by the rashness of his pupils and continued to hew to the line.

It was almost in the midst of this initial menacing onslaught that Lanson made his first visit to the United States, as the first Visiting Professor of French Literature at Columbia. As a result of his stay here, he wrote his *Trois Mois d'Enseignement aux Etats-Unis*, which is chiefly concerned with American college students and their methods of study, and with comparative statistics of the amount of French and German taught here.

His War years were clouded with the loss of his only son, so that his second visit to this country, in 1916, was sad in the extreme. Nevertheless, in the lecture-hall the old spirit returned, and Lanson was himself once more. At the request of the undersigned, President Butler ordered the publication of the lectures that he gave during the academic year, 1916-17, under the title, *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Tragédie française* (1920). These lectures contain the very essence of the Lanson method: carefully and systematically organized, written in an abbreviated, telegraphic style, and revealing the author's uncanny ability in extracting from a writer or his work the main substance of his thought, which was stated in a sentence or two.

The last years of his academic life were devoted to his beloved Ecole Normale, of which he was Director from 1919 to 1927. But notwithstanding his withdrawal from the portals of the Sorbonne, the sniping indulged in by his adversaries never ceased, as witness René Benjamin's *La Farce de la Sorbonne* (1920), wherein one might say that all the criticisms leveled against his colleagues were indirectly intended for him. In order, then, to bring back the discussion of his method to a purely literary basis, the writer of these lines requested Prof. J. E. Spingarn, in 1926, to write for the *ROMANIC REVIEW* a criticism of a dissertation, exemplifying the Lanson method in an exaggerated form. As an indication of the world-wide interest in his doctrines, be it said that the discussion, inaugurated and continued for many years in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, is still going on and has had repercussions in some eight or ten countries.

Inasmuch as the *Mélanges Lanson*, published some eight or ten years ago, contains an itemized bibliography of his enormous output, it is unnecessary to attempt one here. Suffice it to say that his adieu to French letters may be found in his *Montaigne* (1929) and his *Vauvenargues* (1930).

Let us then, without prejudice of any sort, give our unstinted admiration to this remarkable man. Great he was in intellect and great in character — for he accomplished his duty in a most unselfish manner and never sought honors of any kind. And great he deserves to remain in the calm judgment of the centuries to come!

Lastly, his attitude in the face of the most bitter and heart-rending attacks was always admirable — that of a Bayard, a "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche", on the field of battle. It is related of Dr. Jowett, whose equanimity before the shafts of his enemies was almost without precedent, that he was once requested by a puzzled critic to explain how it was possible for him to remain so calm and collected at such a crucial moment. He replied that his maxim always was: "Never retract, never explain, get it done and let them howl!" This seems to have been also the motto of Gustave Lanson.

J. L. G.

## VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—PROF. F. L. CRITCHLOW, whose monumental translation of Desclot's famous Catalan *Chronicle* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, retired recently from his academic duties at Princeton. It is fitting, indeed, that his life of rare devotion to his duties as teacher as well as to scholarship should be crowned with this worthy achievement. *THE ROMANIC REVIEW* takes pleasure in extending to him its best wishes and, at the same time, ex-

presses the hope of all of his admirers that the leisure afforded him by his retirement will enable him to complete other important works that he has in view.—RECENT PROMOTIONS AND ELECTIONS to the Legion of Honor include the following: Commanders, Abel Lefranc, Professor in the Collège de France, Gabriel Pierné, composer, and Fernand Gregh, poet and essayist; Officers, André Siegfried, writer, Jacques Copeau, theatrical director, and Louis Bertrand, historian and Member of the Académie Française; Chevaliers, Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, Marcel Arland, novelist, Jean Sarmant, dramatist, Mme Marcelle Vioux, novelist, Dr. Horatio Smith, Professor of Romance Languages at Brown University, and Prof. J. B. Zacharie, President of the Société des Professeurs Français en Amérique. Pres. J. R. Angell was made Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy for having established the Sala Italiana at Yale.—SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, is planning a Spanish-American University, in which 21 nations of the Western Hemisphere will be represented. Courses on the history, languages and civilizations of Latin countries are to be offered and relations with other American universities will be established.—DEAN CHRISTIAN GAUSS announced, on Dec. 29, that the France-America Society will award a medal to a Senior of Princeton University who submits in 1935 the best Departmental thesis dealing with French civilization or with a political, economic or historical aspect of Franco-American relations.—DR. GEORGE J. RYAN, Chairman of the New York City Board of Education, made, on Nov. 1, tentative arrangements for the establishment of a Franco-American Summer School for New York teachers at Cannes. The new school will be conducted under the auspices of the Academy of Aix-en-Provence.—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES PROFESSEURS FRANÇAIS EN AMÉRIQUE celebrated, on Dec. 8, the 30th anniversary of its foundation. Professors G. Chénard, L. Mercier and A. Feuillerat were the speakers.—EL INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS reported to President Butler, on Jan. 5, that, during 1934, it had organized 70 student clubs throughout the United States.—THE MEMBERS of the Cercle Jusserand of the College of the City of New York are now issuing a review, entitled *La Chronique du Cercle Jusserand*, under the direction of Professors F. Weill and R. Vaillant.—“L'ÎLE DE FRANCE”, the French house of New Jersey College for Women, is offering this year French courses for children.—THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION chose, on Jan. 26, English and Spanish as the official languages of the forthcoming Philippine commonwealth. Future legislatures were directed to develop a native tongue for the Islanders, now speaking more than a score of dialects.—PORTUGAL's oldest and most famous University, Coimbra, has begun building a University City. Its beautiful location in a mediaeval town, filled with rare art and architectural monuments and commanding a splendid view over the surrounding country, as well as its proximity to the luxuriant forest of Bussaco makes of it an ideal spot for study and meditation.—WASEDA UNIVERSITY, at Tokyo, published recently a Japanese translation of the complete works of Molière.—NOUVELLES LITTÉRAIRES has petitioned the Paris Municipal Council to have a street named “Christophe Nyrop” in honor of the famous Danish philologist who died in 1931.—THE FRICK ART REFERENCE LIBRARY, consisting of 45,000 books and pamphlets and more than 200,000 photographs and reproductions of European and American paintings, drawings, sculpture and illuminated MSS, was re-opened, on Jan. 14, in its new building at 10 E. 71 St., New York. The edifice is designed in

the French Renaissance style and adjoins the former Frick residence, which is to be converted into a museum.—THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION stated, in a recent report, that there are now 10,000 public and college libraries in the United States and that they are regularly used by perhaps 24,000,000 people. The city of Washington alone contains more than 200 libraries, with collections in excess of 12,500,000 volumes.—COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY announced, on Jan. 20, that it now has more than 1,450,000 books and that it ranks after Harvard and Yale among American university libraries.—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT donated, on Nov. 28, the sum of 60,000 fr. to the American Library of Paris in order to permit it to continue its work throughout 1935. Owing to a decline in support, the Library was about to close its doors.—"LA SECONDE JEUNESSE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE" is the title of an interesting article in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Jan. 10).—CLEMENCEAU'S HOME, which has been opened as a museum, will also contain a library of the period of French history covered by his life. Clemenceau's own works, consisting of books, articles, speeches and letters, will form the basis of the collection.—THE LATE OGDEN GOELET'S nearly complete set of *Jesuit Relations*, comprising 42 original editions (1634-73) with some modern reprints, was sold in New York on Jan. 4 for \$10,400. Another work sold at the same time was Chrestien Le Clercq, *Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691), containing Père Anastase Douay's first original account of the discoveries of La Salle, \$2,100.—PART TWO of the library of the late Rev. Dr. R. Terry was auctioned in New York on Nov. 7-8 (for the sale of Part One, cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXV, 1934, p. 277). Works sold included: Cicero, *Orationes* (1st ed., Rome, 1471), \$600; the 1588 Latin edition of Capt. Walter Biggs' account of Drake's voyage to America in 1585-86, \$2,500; St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (2d ed., Rome, 1468), \$1,100; *Imitatio Christi* (Augsburg, Gunther Zainer, 1473), \$1,200; Aesop's *Fables* in Latin (Antwerp, 1486), \$950; a French 13th-century MS of the Bible in Latin, \$625; Justin, *Epitome in Trogi Pompeii Historias* (Rouen, 1498-1504); etc.—PRINCE GELASIO CAETANI, who graduated at Columbia in 1903 and who died in Rome on Oct. 24 last at the age of 57, bequeathed the archives of his family, extending from the 12th century to the present day, to the Vatican Library. The archives comprise more than 200,000 documents and 8,000 volumes and include letters of Popes Gelasio II and Boniface VIII, correspondence of Cardinal Caetani with the French Encyclopaedists, letters of Capt. Caetani, who commanded the Papal militia at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, etc.—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT purchased at Sotheby's in London on Dec. 17, for £ 15,000, a collection of 318 letters written by Napoleon to Marie Louise between Feb. 23, 1810, and Aug. 28, 1814. These letters, which had remained hidden for more than a century in the castle of an Austrian Archduke, a descendant of the Empress, and of which only one was hitherto known to historians, were deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The one known is the fatal note, dated March 23, 1814, which fell into Bluecher's hands and which sealed Napoleon's fate. The letters not only describe famous battles, the retreat from Moscow, the campaigns of France and Germany, the days of exile at Elba, but "are chiefly remarkable", according to the *New York Times* (Dec. 18), "as entirely altering the historian's conception of Napoleon's attitude toward his second Empress, which had been called cold and unemotional." This is obvious from their great tenderness and his anxiety about her happiness and the health

of the Aiglon, as well as from the fact that he wrote her, on one occasion, 112 letters in 191 days (May 29-Dec. 5, 1812) and, on another, 131 letters in 207 days. The widely-heralded autograph diary of Marie Louise, which was offered for sale on Dec. 18, was put in the doubtful class. It brought, nevertheless, £ 490.—EMILE BROUWET's collection of autographs, entitled *Napoléon et son Temps*, of which about one-third was withheld from sale on a last-minute reservation by the Archives Nationales, brought 225,000 fr. at Paris on Nov. 14. The chief items were Napoleon's famous love-letter to Josephine, dated July 21, 1796, which Queen Hortense only published in part, 46,300 fr.; a letter dated from Valence in November, 1785, and signed "Napoleone di Buonaparte", which was purchased by Gabriel Wells of New York for 21,000 fr.; a *Cours de Mathématiques*, "ayant appartenu à l'élève Buonaparte", 13,000 fr.; *L'Aveugle par Amour*, by Stéphanie de Beauharnais, aunt of Josephine, 15,100 fr.; Comte Mathieu Dumas, *Précis des Evénements militaires* (1799-1814), annotated by Napoleon at Saint-Helena, 12,000 fr.; a two-page letter of Josephine to Comte de Barras, 5,100 fr.; etc.—THE LIBRARY of the late Georges Moreau (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, p. 185) was sold in Paris on Dec. 10-13. This collection, characterized by Francis Ambrière as "ample, et non seulement précieuse, mais intelligente", failed, probably for the latter reason, to bring the spectacular prices that marked the Béraldi sale—for its total only reached 500,000 fr. It contained, *e. g.*, 16 illuminated Books of Hours of the Middle Ages, one of which, a Breviary of the Clunisian Priory of Lewes, Sussex — the first establishment founded by the Normans in England — composed 1262-91 and ornamented with 15 miniatures, was purchased by the British Museum for 19,500 fr. Another, *Livre d'Heures à l'Usage de Rome* (15th cent.) with 54 miniatures, brought 16,200 fr. In addition, there were 35 incunabula and a number of works of the 16th century, of which the highest prices paid were for Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* (Nicolas Jenson, 1472), 9,900 fr., and for the only book composed in Gothic characters by Geofroy Tory, *Hore in Laudem Beatissime Virginis Mariae*, 5,100 fr. Of the later centuries the outstanding price was 13,000 fr., paid for *Le Théâtre de Corneille* (1764), commented by Voltaire.—THE ROMANTIC SECTION of the Béraldi collection (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, pp. 273-74) was dispersed on Dec. 18-21. The chief items were: *Satires de Perse, traduites par Achaintre* (Paris, Dalibon, 1822), 51,100 fr.; Molière, *Œuvres* (éd. Bret, 1804), with 33 original illustrations by Auguste Garnerey, teacher of drawing to Josephine, 36,100 fr.; Vizentini, *Recueil de Costumes de Théâtre* (5 vols.), with 421 original illustrations by Garnerey, 21,320 fr.; Delvau, *Les Cythères parisiennes* (E. Dentu, 1864), with 25 etchings by Félicien Rops and Emile Thérond, 18,000 fr.; original edition of Gautier, *Albertus*, with a dedication, 20,000 fr.; an album of 24 aquarelles by Raffet for Paul de Kock's works, 20,350 fr.; A. de Vigny's *Servitude et Grandeur militaire* (1st ed., 1835), with a dedication to the actress, Marie Dorval, 29,000 fr. The amazing total of 8,500,000 fr. for this sale thus far — since the modern works will be sold this Spring — may be explained by the fact that this collection was, to quote Fernand Vandérem in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (June), "moins l'œuvre d'un amoureux des livres que celle d'un reliureur et d'un iconophile."—THE LIBRARY of Lucien Gougy, the late publisher, was sold in Paris in November for 372,000 fr.—THE CELEBRATED COPY of *Les Pensées de Pascal*, annotated by Huet, which was offered for sale in Paris in November,



was withdrawn at the request of the Bibliothèque Nationale.—PARIS BOOK SALES during the last quarter contain the following items: Robert Macaire, *La Journée du Célibataire*, *Types parisiens*, *Les Bons Bourgeois*, *Mœurs conjugales*, *Charges du jour*, etc., (10 vols.) with 1,166 plates by Daumier, 33,080 fr.; La Fontaine, *Quelques Fables*, illustrated by Jules Chandel, 8,950 fr.; *Dix Fables d'Esope*, illustrated by Chandel, 8,000 fr.; *Les Heures de Notre-Dame*, (1550), 6,050 fr.; *Ordonnances sur le faict des monnoyes* (1540), 7,150 fr.; Bonnard, *Le Recueil de Costumes et Portraits de l'Epoque de Louis XIV* (1694) 9,200 fr.; *Le Théâtre de Corneille* (12 vols., 1764), 8,000 fr.; *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1785), illustrated by Monnet, 7,750 fr.; *La Divina Commedia* (Wendelin de Spire, 1477), 8,100 fr.; Nicolas de Pergame, *Dialogus Creaturarum* (Gérard Leeu, 1481), 5,850 fr.; Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie* (Paris, Kerver, 1561), 4,300 fr.; Geoffroy Tory, *Horae ad Usus Romanum* (1525), 4,200 fr.; Montaigne, *Essais* (1595), 5,520 fr.; first complete edition of the works of Molière (Barbier et Quinet, 1666), 5,300 fr.; La Fontaine, *Fables*, illustrated by Oudry and Cochin, 9,050 fr.; Mme de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, first edition, of which only three copies are known, 14,500 fr.; Dorat, *Œuvres Complètes*, 12,600 fr.; Laborde, *Cboix de Chansons* (binding by Chambolle-Duru), 9,100 fr.; La Fontaine, *Fables* (éd. Didot, 1795), 31,000 fr.; Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, with a dedication to Vigny, 26,200 fr.; MSS of Huysmans, *Là-Bas*, 15,000 fr.; *En Route*, 17,000 fr., and *La Cathédrale*, 12,600 fr.; MS of *La Chatte*, by Colette, 12,050 fr.; 8 volumes by Jules Renard, containing affectionate dedications to his wife, 14,425 fr.—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE closes a most eulogistic review of F. Brunot, *Le français dans les divers pays d'Europe* (Pt. 1 of Vol. VIII of the great *Histoire de la Langue française*) with the following words: "Et après avoir lu passionnément le livre de M. Brunot... on revisera certaines notions hâtives, mais très communes, sur l'universalité du français à la fin de l'âge classique."—ALFRED RÉBELLIAN, the faithful Secretary of the Commission du Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, died last Autumn. As he prepared all of the articles "adoptés, sauf quelques exceptions, sans être modifiés", *Candide* (Nov. 15) observes that the Academy's Dictionary "mériterait presque d'être appelé le 'Rébellian', comme on dit le Larousse ou le Littré."—L'UNION CORPORATIVE DES INSTITUTEURS, founded by French primary teachers, gives the following as its aim in its recent manifesto: "Affirme sa volonté de lutter contre les Marxistes, les pacifistes et les franc-maçons qui prétendent diriger l'Université."—FRENCH STUDENTS engaged in an anti-foreign strike on Feb. 1. As an instance of the "foreign invasion", the students cited that 73 out of 300 new doctors licensed in Paris in 1934 were foreigners.—THE FRENCH SUBJUNCTIVE aroused a heated quarrel in Paris newspapers last Autumn because André Billy reproached Giraudoux and Cocteau for having written "le malheur voulut que José rentra le soir" (and not *rentrât*) and "le malheur voulut qu' Achille se laisse enchaîner" (and not *laissât*). André Thérive, who holds that the Subjunctive is dead, cites numerous other examples where the Indicative has come to replace it. On this subject, cf. Prof. C. M. Bissell's very interesting article on "Dead Tenses in Present-Day French Drama" (ROMANIC REVIEW, XXIII, 1932, pp. 24-30).—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE criticizes Paul Valéry for having used in his volume, entitled *Suite*, the Latin verb *ubique* as a French adjective. He states also that he is "peiné d'avoir trouvé sous la plume d'un des plus purs écrivains de ce temps le mot *compacité*, entendu comme substantif de *compact*



("la compacité et l'unicité de la substance", Eugène Marsan, *Comœdia*). This he finds as "horrible" as "oblicité" which Mme Delarue-Mardrus once wrote for "obliquité." Therefore, he is in favor of reviving, at all costs, "les vraies terminaisons françaises, en *ise*, en *ance*, en *ie*, en *son* (non pas en *tion*)".—THE FAMOUS LITERARY AND SCHOLARLY REVIEW, *Nosotros*, of which the Publications of the Institute of French Studies is issuing an analytical index, has been discontinued. This most important of South American reviews began publication in 1907.

NECROLOGY—HENRY G. BAYER, Associate Professor of French in New York University and a contributor to the ROMANIC REVIEW, died in New York on Dec. 23 at the age of 67. A native of Halle, Belgium, he came to the United States in 1902 and was appointed Lecturer at New York University in 1916. Besides his courses in French, he conducted, since 1926, one on the Belgian Congo, a region in which he had spent several years. In 1930 he established at the same University a Bibliotheca Belgica, said to be the first Belgian library in this country. Owner of a large collection of American Indian relics, he donated part of it, a few years ago, to the Royal Museum at Brussels. In recognition of his work in furthering educational relations between his native country and the United States, the Belgian Government conferred on him two decorations, the Order of the Crown (1924) and the Order of Leopold (1932), whereas France made him Officier d'Académie and Officier d'Instruction Publique. His publications include articles in the *New York Times Current History* and other reviews, pamphlets on commerce in the Belgian Congo, a book on the metric system, *The Belgians, First Settlers in New York and in the Middle States* (New York, 1925, 373 pp.), and a work, recently completed, explaining some 6,000 French names in the geography of the United States, which will be published posthumously. Prof. Bayer's genial personality won for him many friends. He is survived by his widow, two sons and a daughter.—DR. JEAN CHARLEMAGNE BRACQ, Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages at Vassar College since 1918, died at Keene, N. H., on Dec. 18. Born at Cambrai, France, on May 3, 1853, he received his early education at Rheims, coming to the United States in 1871. After having graduated from McGill University in 1881, he continued his studies at Newton Theological Institution (1881-83), Edinburgh (1883-84), and Paris (1884-85). In 1904 he was awarded the Litt. D. degree by Colgate and in 1911 the LL. D. degree by McGill. After having served as Secretary of the American McAll Association in Philadelphia (1885-91), he was appointed Associate Professor at Vassar in 1891 and Professor the following year. His knowledge of international affairs won him appointment as delegate to the International Peace Congress at Rouen in 1903; to the National Peace Congress at Nîmes in 1904; and to the 1913 Hague Peace Congress. His paper on "French Rights in Newfoundland", which he read before the Paris Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, was used as the historical basis for the settlement of the Newfoundland question. A lecturer on contemporary French literature at Lowell Institute, Boston, in 1898, he was Honorary Member of the National Institute of Social Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Honorary President of the Société des Archives du Protestantisme Français au Canada, Member of the Advisory Council of the World Peace Foundation and Member of the Executive Committee of the Constantinople College Association. His publications include *France Under the Republic*

(1910); *The Provocation of France* (1916); *The Evolution of French Canada* (1924; French transl., 1927); etc. Dr. Bracq was Officier d'Instruction Publique, Laureate of the French Academy, Laureate of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and Knight of the Legion of Honor. Since his retirement in 1918, he studied French-Canadian life, etc. His widow, the former Emma M. Woods of Chester, Vt., and a daughter survive.—CHARLES CAMERON CLARKE, Head of the Department of Romance Languages at Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, from 1903 until 1929, died at New Haven, Conn., on Jan. 28. He was born in New York on May 4, 1861, and was educated at Yale (A.B., 1883; M.A., 1908) and the Columbia Law School (1886). He also studied at the Université Libre, Brussels (1895), and at the Sorbonne (1896-97). His entire academic life was centered at Yale, where he was Instructor in French (1898-1903), Assistant Professor (1903-08), and Professor until his retirement in 1929. He was Member of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Aurelian Honor Society. His publications include: *The French Subjunctive* (1900); *Common Difficulties of French* (1909); *Concerning French Verse* (1922); *Molière and the Doctors* (1923), besides contributions to the *Yale Review*, *Modern Philology*, *Modern Language Notes*, etc. He is survived by his widow, the former Valentine Lemaieur, whom he married at Brussels on June 2, 1896, and a son, C. L. Clarke, Instructor in Hackley School, Tarrytown, N. Y. Former President Hadley of Yale once praised Prof. Clarke as "one of the few American Professors of French who had the time and ability to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the French language and literature."—REV. DR. FRANCIS LE JAU FROST, Rector of St. Mary's Protestant Episcopal Church at West New Brighton, Staten Island, since 1901, perished in the sinking of the S. S. "Mohawk" on Jan. 24. He was born at Charleston, S. C., in 1875, and was graduated with a bachelor's degree from the General Theological Seminary in New York. Afterward he studied at Columbia and Johns Hopkins, being awarded the Ph.D. degree by the latter University in 1901 on a dissertation entitled *The "Art de Contemplacio" of Ramon Lull* (Baltimore, 1903). For a time he considered teaching as a career, but having decided ultimately upon the ministry, he became curate in the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral at Paris, passing thence to Staten Island. During the War, he served as chaplain overseas, and, his knowledge of French having made him invaluable in liaison work, he was subsequently decorated by the French Government. He never married and is survived by two sisters living at Charleston. Dr. Frost was highly esteemed for his unusual intellectual gifts and his sterling character.—DR. ALEXANDER GREEN, Modern Language Editor for D. C. Heath & Co., since 1919, died at Wellesley, Mass., on Nov. 11 at the age of 46. Born at Kassa, Hungary, he came to this country when a boy and was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1910. The following year Columbia conferred on him the A.M. degree and, in 1914, the Ph.D. degree on his dissertation, *The Dative of Agency, A Chapter of Indo-European Case Syntax* (1913). He was Instructor in Germanic Languages at the University of Illinois, 1913-16, Johnston Research Scholar in Germanic Philology at Johns Hopkins, 1916-17, Instructor in Romance Languages at the College of the City of New York, 1918, and Lecturer in World Literature at Hunter College, 1928-29. He edited various class-texts. His widow and two daughters survive.—ARTHUR KINGSLAND GRIGGS, writer, died in Paris on Nov. 25 at the age of 43. Son of a well-known

New York banker, he had resided in Paris for many years. He translated *The Memoirs of Léon Daudet* (1926) and various other French Works.—Miss CHARLOTTE LOEB, head of the French Department of the New York State College for Teachers since 1920, died at Albany on Nov. 26. She was born in Ticonderoga and, after having received degrees from Vassar and Columbia, studied at the Sorbonne and in Berlin. She first taught in the Milne High School and then became Assistant Professor of French at the State College. She is survived by two sisters.—JACQUES PILLOIS, French composer and teacher in the American Conservatory at Fontainebleau, died in New York on Jan. 3. From 1927 to 1933 he was special lecturer on French music at New York University. Known as a composer of chamber music, two of his pieces were played by the New York Chamber Music Society, viz., *Cinq Hai-Kai* (1929) and *Mediterranean* (1932). Surviving are his widow, who teaches French at a private school in Greenwich, Conn., and two sons.—Mrs. NELLIE VAN DE GRIFT SANCHEZ, well-known author and sister of the late Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson, died on Jan. 4 at Oakland, Calif., at the age of 78. Her works include: *Spanish and Indian Place Names of California, Their Meaning and Their Romance* (1914); *California under Spanish and Mexican Rule*; *Spanish Arcadia, A Study of Social Life in California under Spain and Mexico* (1928); *A Short History of California* (with Dr. R. D. Hunt); and *Stories on the Latin-American States* (1934), which has been adopted as a text-book in some States.—DR. LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS, Professor of Romance Languages at Johns Hopkins University, died in Baltimore on Jan. 28. Born at Albany, N. Y., on March 24, 1878, he studied at Cornell, from which he received the Ph.B. degree in 1899 with Phi Beta Kappa honors. After having pursued graduate work at Columbia, where he was awarded the A.M. degree in 1904, and at Paris, he received the Ph.D. degree from Cornell in 1908. He began his teaching career as master in a private school in 1902, and then became successively Instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Wisconsin (1906-08), Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Idaho (1908-09), at the University of Tennessee (1909-12), and at the University of Pennsylvania (1912-18), Professor and Head of Department, University of Western Ontario (1919-25), and Associate Professor at Johns Hopkins (1925), being promoted to a full Professorship sometime later. Besides many articles in magazines, he published the following works: *Anatole France* (1919); *French Composition for Colleges*, with E. A. Méras (1924); *Flaubert's Youth, 1821-1845* (1927); *Baudelaire, Flesh and Spirit* (1930), and translations of the *Complete Poems of Charles Baudelaire* (a metrical rendering, 1925), *Baudelaire's Flowers of Evil* (1931), and *Anatole France, the Mind and the Man* (1932). He also edited *Selections from Anatole France* (1932). Dr. Shank's sympathetic personality and kindly disposition made him very popular with his colleagues and students. His widow, the former Louise N. Johnson, and a son survive.—CHARLES GEORGES SUEUR, teacher of French at the Collegiate School (241 W. 77th St., N. Y.), died in New York on Jan. 4. Born in France in 1868, he taught for several years at the Institut Laflannelle in Paris. After having come to New York in 1892, he became Instructor of French at the Collegiate School in 1894.—DR. JAMES HAUGHTON WOODS, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Harvard, died suddenly at Tokyo, Japan, on Jan. 14 in the 71st year of his age. He was Exchange Professor to France in 1916-18 and in 1928.—JOSÉ SANTOS CHOCANO, the fa-

mous Peruvian poet, who called himself, "the singer of America, aboriginal and wild", was killed in Santiago, Chile, on Dec. 13 by a man who had charged him with a treasure-hunt swindle. In 1926 Sr. Chocano himself had been sentenced to prison in Lima for having killed Edwin Elmore, an American writer, in an altercation over a controversy they had carried on in the press with regard to the writings and doctrines of José Vasconcellos, the Mexican author. Sr. Chocano escaped shortly afterward and sought refuge in Chile. His last book, published in November, which was entitled *Primicias de Oro de Indias*, and in which he depicted the conquest and development of the Americas by the Spaniards, became at once Latin-America's best seller and promised him the financial independence that he had long sought.—DR. FLORESTAN AGUILAR, dentist to former King Alfonso, who was raised to the rank of Viscount Casa Aguilar by the King a few years before his abdication, died suddenly in Madrid on Nov. 28 in the 62nd year of his age. He was educated in the Philadelphia Dental School and later became prominent in civic and educational activities in Spain. He visited the United States in 1927-28 in behalf of the Ciudad Universitaria of Madrid, and, in coöperation with J. L. Gerig, obtained from Dr. Gregorio Del Amo of California a donation sufficient to cover the expenses of construction of the American building in the above Ciudad.—ULRICO HOEPLI, founder of a famous Italian publishing house, died at Milan in January at the age of 87. Although he was a Protestant and had never relinquished his Swiss citizenship, he was the exclusive publisher in Italy of the writings of Mussolini. Most of his fortune, estimated at \$2,500,000, is invested in a trust-fund for the benefit of scientific and literary organizations, principally in Switzerland. His business will be carried on by two nephews.—DR. CHRISTIAN HUELSEN, archaeologist, died suddenly in Florence, Italy, on Jan. 19 at the age of 76. Born and educated in Germany, he went to Italy on a fellowship at the age of 19 and remained there for the rest of his life. In 1910 he was Visiting Professor at Columbia University. For many years he was connected with the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and wrote the sections on the topography of Rome for the Baedeker guidebooks, as well as a handbook, *The Forum and the Palatine*, which was translated into English.—LUIGI DE SANTIS, patron of Italian music, died in his native city, Naples, early in December. Not only did he organize the Italian Chamber Ballets and the San Remo Quartet, but his beneficiaries include, among the older school, Mascagni, Perosi and Giordano, and, in the modernistic group, Pizzetti, Respighi, Alfano, Mulè, Pick-Mangiagalli, Tommasini, Lualdi, Santoliquido and Veretti.—GEORGES ABRIC, Managing Editor of *Le Matin*, died in Paris on Jan. 16 at the age of 70. He served for 39 years on the staff of the above daily, and was long prominent among the political writers of Paris.—PHILIPPE BERTHELOT, called the "Eminence Grise" of French foreign diplomacy since he had served under 56 ministers, died in Paris in November at the age of 68. Son of a celebrated chemist, he began his career by writing articles for *La Grande Encyclopédie* and as contributing editor to *La Vie Parisienne*, writing under the pseudonym of "Lucas." In collaboration with Mme Bulteau, he wrote for the same journal caustic articles on various Paris salons of the time, signed with two letters of the alphabet, which were never the same. In 1921-22 he attended the Naval Conference at Washington.—FÉLICIEN CHAMPSAUR, novelist and poet, who was famous around 1900, died in Paris during Christmas week. His career is well characterized by *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 29) in the following sen-

tence: "Curieuse physionomie que celle de cet écrivain né sous le signe de l'humour — il avait été des Hydropathes — qui fit ensuite du roman esthète et des poèmes en prose symbolistes avant de tomber dans le roman social."—ALBERT CROMIEUX, French novelist, died in Paris on Jan. 17.—FRANC-NOHAIN (pseudonym of Maurice Legrand), novelist, dramatist, essayist and journalist, died in Paris on Oct. 19. He was born at Corbigny, Nièvre, and took his pseudonym from a small tributary of the Loire, over which his grandfather had built a suspension bridge. While he was still a student at the Lycée of Janson-de-Sailly, he and his comrades, Pierre Louys and André Gide, founded a magazine, *Potache-Revue*, to which all three contributed their first verses. After having served as a Sous-Préfet for 7 tedious years, he joined Barrès in a small apartment in Rue Chaptal at Paris and remained in the capital thereafter. According to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Oct. 20), "il restera surtout, sans doute, comme un fabuliste." Thus, in 1920, Henri Duvernois wrote in the "Enquête sur la Fable" conducted by *La Renaissance*: "Il y a place pour un renouveau de la fable. La preuve en sera fournie par un des plus charmants esprits de ce temps, par Franc-Nohain."—ALBERT JULLIEN, one of the best-known journalists in France, died suddenly in Paris on Jan. 24 at the age of 56. From 1906 to 1922 he had acted as London correspondent of *Le Petit Parisien* and for the last 13 years was Foreign Editor of the same journal.—ALBERT MICHAUD, hero of Courteline's *Le Commissaire est Bon Enfant*, died in Paris toward the end of December at the age of 75. He founded in 1896 a literary and artistic society, called "Le Cornet," which still exists.—MME EMILE OLLIVIER, widow of the first liberal minister of Napoleon III, died in Paris late in November at the age of 84. She left unpublished *Mémoires*, in which she defends the foreign policies of her husband.—HENRI PAUL NÉNOT, noted French architect, who rebuilt the Sorbonne in 1885, was killed in an automobile accident near Bourg-en-Bresse on Dec. 13, while returning from Geneva. Born in 1853, he entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts at the age of 15 and won the Prix de Rome in 1877. Four years later he was appointed architect of the new Sorbonne. Other buildings designed by him were the Governmental Palace at Montevideo and the League of Nations building at Geneva, on which he was coöperating with Julien Flegenheimer at the time of his death.—ALBERT BESNARD, the only painter, besides Wattelet, ever to be elected to the Académie Française (1924), died in Paris on Dec. 4, at the age of 85. A pupil of Jean Bremond and Cabanel, he was the last representative of the "grande peinture" style, for, according to Jean-Louis Vaudoyer in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 8), "il était de la famille des Titien et des Tiepolo, des Rubens et des Delacroix, des Chassériau et des Puvis . . . l'un des rares peintres français que l'on puisse opposer aux grands décorateurs italiens." Later he became known as France's foremost painter of women. The above critic lists as his chief works the following: the ceiling of the Hôtel de Ville, the compositions in the Ecole de Pharmacie and the Hôpital de Berck and the following portraits: Réjane, Emil Sauer, Mme Roger-Jourdain, Boni de Castellane, M. et Mme Cognacq, Cardinal Mercier, and the admirable "Portrait de Famille", owned by the French Government. He was Director of the Villa Médicis at Rome from 1913 to 1921 and published during his stay there his one book, *Sous le Ciel de Rome, Souvenirs*. He made his only visit to the United States in 1924, when his well-known "Portrait de Théâtre" was shown in New York.—FERDINAND HUMBERT, painter and friend of Jules Lemaitre, died at Paris in October at the age of 92.



A pupil of Picot, Cabanel and Fromentin, he began his artistic career with grandiose Biblical subjects, passing thence to portraiture, and, from 1890 to 1920, to sketches of society women and their children. In 1900 he attempted, without success, to rival Puvis de Chavannes with his mural in the Pantheon, entitled "La Prière, la Famille, le Patriotisme et la Charité." He was called "Le Dernier Santeuil" because his favorite avocation was to compose poems in Latin.—AUGUSTE LAGUILLERMIE, former Professor at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, who, in the 1890's, was classed with Achille Jacquet and Roybet as one of France's three greatest engravers, died in Paris during the latter part of December at the age of 94. In 1870 he was in Spain with his friend, Henri Régnault, whose masterpiece "Salomé" hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and together they hastened to return to France to enlist in the War, where Régnault later fell at Buzenval at the age of 28. Laguillermie spent more than 10 years at London, where he reproduced many masterpieces by English painters and illustrated numerous works by English authors. In 1911 he was elected member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts to succeed Roty, engraver of "La Semeuse", the famous figure used on French postage-stamps.—SEM, acclaimed as the greatest caricaturist of his time, died suddenly at Paris on Nov. 25 at the age of 71. Sem, whose family name was Georges Goursat, was born at Périgueux, where he published in 1887 his first album, *Périgueux-Revue*. After having worked at Bordeaux (1889-1897) and at Marseilles (1897-1900), he came to Paris, where he issued several albums of sketches, the most celebrated of which was *Le Vrai et le Faux Chic* (1914). In 1916 he published a volume on the War, entitled *Un Pékin sur le Front*, and in 1928 a collection of articles, that had already appeared in newspapers, under the title, *La Ronde de Nuit*. In 1931 he visited President Hoover at Washington and later devoted a page of sketches and written account, very sympathetic in tone, to the President in *Figaro*. More than 20 years ago his sketches and comments were a regular feature of the *New York World Sunday Magazine*. Sem's liking for America was such that on his return to Paris in 1931 he stated, according to the *New York Times* (Nov. 27), that "the New World would be one he would like to go to when he died." His fellow-caricaturist, Tigre, writing in *Guingoire* (Nov. 30), makes the following just estimate of his work: "Si Helleu fut le dessinateur du visage féminin, si Boldini fut le peintre du corps et du chic de la femme, Sem fut, toute 'caricature' mise à part, le reflet de ce que les gens n'osent ou ne savent pas voir, et, plus qu'aucun récit, plus qu'aucun chroniqueur, le miroir de son temps."—LUCIEN FUGÈRE, noted baritone of the Opéra-Comique, died in Paris on Jan. 15 in his 87th year. He made his début at the café-concert of Ba-ta-clan in 1870, and later sang at the Bouffes-Parisiens in *Madame l'Archevêque*, *La Sorrentine*, etc. Having entered the Opéra-Comique in 1877 in *Les Noces de Jeannette*, he created thereafter parts in nearly all of the most famous operas in its répertoire, including the *Barbier de Séville*, in which he excelled as Bartholo, Joli Gilles, Pbryné, *La Vivandière*, *Louise*, *Grisélidis*, *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, *Don Quichotte*, etc. After having left the stage, where his technique and his voice were especially admired, he became a leading teacher of singing in Paris.—FRANCIS PLANTÉ, French pianist, died at Mont-de-Marsan on the Basque coast on Dec. 19 at the age of 95. A native of Orthez, he studied at the Paris Conservatory, where he won a first prize at the age of 11. In 1850-53 he first played in public in recitals with Alard and Franchomme. Throughout his life



he was a close friend of Saint-Saëns, who was four years his senior, having begun playing with him when he was 6. About 1900 he retired, but in 1916 he returned once to the Paris concert stage, playing behind a screen.—DR. DE CLÉRAMBAULT, descendant of Pascal and Descartes and psychiatrist of the *Infirmierie Spéciale du Dépôt*, committed suicide late in November. He wrote *Le Drapé antique* and was so interested in the subject that he devoted his leisure hours to trying draperies on mannequins, which led all Paris to believe that he was a modern Caligari. Stories concerning his mysterious ways and powers are legion, with the promise of some *Contes d'Hoffmann* to come concerning him.

MUSIC AND OPERA.—THE ROYAL ITALIAN UNIVERSITY FOR FOREIGNERS at Perugia devoted its courses last Autumn to Italian history, language, literature, philosophy and art of the 17th century. Giulio Visconti di Modrone, distinguished pianist-conductor, lectured on the instrumental music of Frescobaldi, Pasquini, D. Scarlatti, Alessandro Poglietti and Azzolino della Ciaia and on the development of the secular madrigal from the sacred motet, illustrated by Virgilio Doplicher's Florentine Chorus in a program of works of Gesualdo, Frescobaldi, Viadana, Nannino, Steffani, A. Scarlatti, Durante, Monteverdi and Gagliano.—IL MAGGIO MUSICALE FIORENTINO, which will be held April 21-June 4, will be decidedly international in character and will include a staging of Rameau's *Castor et Pollux* by the Paris Opéra, a presentation of Rino Alessi's play, *Savonarola*, mounted by Jacques Copeau, and the world première of Ildebrando Pizzetti's new opera, *Orseolo*.—MASCAGNI's much heralded opera, *Nerone*, on which he has worked since 1892, was given at Milan on Jan. 16. Though the music is tuneful, the libretto, drawn by Prof. Targioni Tozzetti from the drama of the 19th-century poet, Pietro Cossa, is regarded as mediocre and even inferior to that of Boito's *Nero*.—THE ROME OPERA opened its season on Dec. 26 with Claudio Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607), which has been called the foundation stone of all opera. The book was adapted by Arturo Rossato and the music arranged by Giacomo Benvenuti.—THE TEATRO DE NOVELTATS of Barcelona produced last Autumn a remarkably fine zarzuela, *Sol en la Cumbre*, book by Anselmo Carreño and music by the Basque composer-conductor, Pablo Sorozábal.—THE ASSOCIACIÓ OBRERA DE CONCERTS, founded at Barcelona some years ago by Pau Casals and to which only *obrers*, or day-laborers, are admitted, now counts a membership of 3,000 enthusiastic adherents and has given some 100 concerts. Eduardo Toldrà conducted the première of his *Lionor* suite before it in November.—IZQUIERDO's ORQUESTA SINFÓNICA DE VALENCIA opened its Winter concerts with Manuel Palau's vigorous and solid *Como un Minué* and A. Mingote's novelty, *Cuatro Bocetos*.—LEOPOLDO QUEROL, the brilliant Valencian pianist, gave recently a concert devoted mainly to the Spanish moderns, Albéniz, Halfster and Joaquín Rodrigo of Valencia.—SAN SEBASTIAN revived, in October, the operas, *Mendi-Mendyan* and *Las Golondrinas* by the late Basque composer, José M. Usandizaga.—ENRIQUE F. ARBÓS' ORQUESTA SINFÓNICA of Madrid, now in its 36th year, gave recently superb renditions of Joaquín Turina's orchestral version of his piano-piece, *El Castillo de Almodóvar* and Oscar Esplá's early *Poema de Niños*.—EMILE VUILLERMOZ calls, in *Candide* (Nov. 1), the new musical comedy, *Fragonard*, by André Rivoire, Romain Coolus and Gabriel Pierné, which is running at the Porte-Saint-Martin at Paris, "un authentique chef-d'œuvre... un ouvrage qui honore notre art national par toutes les qualités essentiellement françaises qui s'y trouvent rassemblées."—SILVIO MOSSÉ's suc-

cessful revival of Offenbach's *Madame Favart* at the Trianon-Lyrique in November revealed, according to Emile Vuillermoz in *Candide* (Nov. 8), the necessity of "une centralisation des pouvoirs entre les mains d'un premier ministre responsable", since it was the first time that a conductor was accorded full responsibility in a French opera-house.—THE FIRST AMERICAN OPERA to be produced at a national theatre in Paris was Sam Barlow's one-act *Mon Ami Pierrot*, book by Sacha Guitry, which was performed at the Opéra-Comique on Jan. 11.—PAUL DUKAS, composer of *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* (1907), was elected to the Académie des Beaux-Arts in January.—EMILE VUILLERMOZ warns Conservatory graduates, in *Candide*, as follows: "La désaffection du public pour le théâtre lyrique et pour les grands concerts symphoniques rend extrêmement précaire la situation des chanteurs et des musiciens d'orchestre."—PARIS has now a real novelty, called "La Querelle des Disques", which was started by André Moufflet's condemnation of the phonograph in the *Mercure de France*.—L'ANTHOLOGIE SONORE, a new phonograph society of Paris, is giving special attention to mediaeval and Renaissance music. Its new disks, entitled *Chants italiens du XIVe Siècle*, have been highly praised by Dominique Sordet and Georges Devaise. The A. S. is planning to record this year selections from the compositions of Goudimel, Frescobaldi, Josquin Desprez, Jannequin, Blavet, and François Couperin.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—AWARDS OF PRIZES. The first Prix Albert-Ier, which has a value of 10,000 fr. and which "destiné à couronner l'œuvre d'un écrivain belge d'expression française", was awarded to Robert Vivier (b. 1894), Professor of French and Italian Literature at Liège and author of *Folle qui s'ennuie*. He has also written *La Route incertaine* (1921), *La Plaine étrange* (1922) and *Le Ménétrier* (Prix Verhaeren, 1924), volumes of poems; *Déchirures* (1927), a volume of War-impressions; *L'Originalité de Baudelaire* (1927); the novels, *Vivre* (1925) and *Non* (1930); and a translation of Remizov, *Sœurs en Croix* (1929). Other prizes: *Goncourt* (one-year income from a 5,000,000 fr. fund), to *Le Capitaine Conan*, by Roger Verceel (pen-name of R. Cretin, b. 1894), Professor of Rhetoric at the Collège de Dinan, who is also author of *Notre Père Trajan*, *En Dérive*, *Au Large de l'Eden*, a biography of Du Guesclin, etc.; *France-Afrique*, prose, to *La Déception*, a novel by Léopold Compain, a 20-year-old farm-hand of Charente, and, poetry, to *Feux de Veillée*, by Daniel Marquis-Sebie, colonial administrator; *Moréas*, to the poet, André Payer, author of *La Parabole du Jet d'Eau*, *Petits Ciels*, *Visage de Paris*, etc.; *Tbéophraste Renaudot*, to *Blanc*, a novel by Louis Francis (pen-name of L. Rolland, b. 1900), Professor in the Lycée Rollin, Paris, who has also written *Les Nuits sont enceintes*, *Dadia ou la Médée contestée*, etc.; *Fémina*, to *Le Bateau-Refuge* and *La Maison de Verre*, by Robert Francis (pen-name of R. Maxence, b. 1909), an engineer, who founded, with his brother, Jean-Pierre Maxence, *Les Cahiers* in 1928 and who is also author of *Souvenirs romancés d'une Vie d'Enfant* and *La Grange aux Trois Belles*; *Interallié*, to Marc Bernard, journalist, who has written three novels, *Zigzag*, *Au Secours* and *Anny*; *Deux Magots*, to *Monsieur Jean*, by Ribemont-Dessaignes; *Lasserre*, to the 71-year-old poet and physician, Fernand Mazade, author of the volumes of poems, *Athéna*, *L'Ardent Voyage* and *De Sable et d'Or*, and of the medical studies, *L'Art de dormir* and *Le Sommeil qui guérit*.—HENRY DE MONTHERLANT declined recently to accept the Bourse Tunisienne, a prize of 20,000 fr., because his "vues sur le colonialisme ne sont pas toujours d'accord avec les vues officielles."—LE

COMITÉ FRANCO-GRÈCE, presided over by Paul Valéry, awarded in December its two traveling fellowships to André Suarès in Literature and to Joachin Costa, sculptor, in Art.—THE PRIX AMYOT has been discontinued.—LOUIS UNTERMEYER'S *The Donkey of God*, a collection of Italian folk-stories published in 1933, was awarded a prize of 10,000 lire by the Italian Government on Nov. 3 as "the best literary work on the beauties of Italy."—JEAN BONNEROT'S recent work, *L'Université de Paris, du Moyen Age à nos jours*, is commended by Rector Charléty as "une sorte de livre de raison de la grande famille universitaire."—NOUVELLES LITTÉRAIRES (Jan. 5) notes among the anniversaries of 1935 the tercentenaries of Boileau (Mch. 16) and Lope de Vega (Aug. 26) and the centenaries of Saint-Saëns (Oct. 3) and Mark Twain (Nov. 30).—THE SOCIETY OF SPANISH AUTHORS will organize at Seville this year a meeting of the Fédération Internationale des Sociétés d'Auteurs in honor of Lope de Vega. In addition they propose to publish a comedy of Lope in an edition of 500,000 copies for distribution in schools, barracks, factories, etc.—THE SINAPIAN LIBRARY, which was sold in Paris in November, contained Père Johannot's *Voyage de Constantinople pour le Rachat des Captifs* (Paris, 1732). In the list of the ransomed captives, placed at the end of the volume, there is found the name of "Joseph Mussolini, de Messina, âgé de 43 ans, esclave seize ans." According to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 1), "il ne serait autre que l'ancêtre du Duce."—JEAN-LOUIS VAUDOYER held recently at the Musée Carnavalet an "Exposition Rétif de la Bretonne." Writing in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 29), he calls attention to Rétif's curious *Kalendrier* of women, which is found in Vol. VIII of Bachelin's edition of his works.—G. LENÔTRE'S last work, *Rois sans Royaume*, relates the fascinating life of the mysterious Hervagault, who was believed by his contemporaries to be Louis XVII.—BÉZOUT'S *Cours de Mathématiques*, which was studied by the youthful Napoleon and which was sold at the Brouwet sale, mentioned elsewhere in this issue, contains the following Corsican distich written by the future Emperor of France: "Cyrno si da pace justa et amica / Neam spero sorti melior l'espere in vano", which has been translated into French by *Nouvelles Littéraires* as follows: "Corse, si d'une main plus juste et plus amie, / Tu espères un sort meilleur,—tu l'espères en vain."—PREMIER MUSSOLINI accepted in person the bust of Chateaubriand, by Landowski after David d'Angers, which the French Government presented to Italy in December. Chateaubriand first went to Rome in 1803 as Secretary of Cardinal Fesch and again, in 1829, as Ambassador.—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ROMANCIERS ET AUTEURS COLONIAUX, of which the first exposition in 1933-34 was under the inspiration of Leconte de Lisle, gave a second display this Winter, in honor of Victor Jacquemont (1801-32), whose biography was recently published by Pierre Maës (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, p. 437). Among the colonies Madagascar held first place with contributions by Maurice Martin du Gard, Suzanne Frémont, Anna Quinquaud, Barberis, Jane Valiant, Mme Jean Laurence and others.—HENRI MARTINEAU, who published recently the 10th and last volume of the *Correspondance générale de Stendhal*, gave a very interesting interview on this subject to *Candidé* (Dec. 27).—GEORGES BATAULT'S *Le Pontife de la Démagogie: Victor Hugo* (1934) stirred up, last Autumn, a wide-spread quarrel on the relative value of Hugo's literary contribution. Claude Farrère, who admits that he has always considered Hugo "un bien triste sire, assez vil, un peu niais, follement vaniteux . . . enfin d'une poltronnerie que doublait la classique lâcheté des parle-

mentaires", agrees, in *Gringoire* (Nov. 2), with Batault, as follows: "pour quiconque veut bien ne pas se laisser griser de mots, pour quiconque exige qu'un écrivain pense avant d'écrire, Hugo a toujours été le dessous de rien." And to the "nationalistes exagérés", who make Hugo "leur idole", he offers "d'autres princes des lettres françaises . . . plus nobles, plus purs, plus hauts; des maîtres qui n'ont pas toujours sacrifié la profondeur à l'apparence et l'or pur au clinquant"; and these are Rabelais, Ronsard, Corneille, La Fontaine, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Chénier, Vigny, Lamartine, Musset, Balzac, Flaubert, Baudelaire, Loti. Incidentally, the above attacks on Hugo were said to have impaired Farrère's chances of election to the Académie Française.—JULES MARSAN published in *L'Archer* (Sept.-Oct.) a very interesting article on "La Tragédienne Rachel", in which he reveals that she always kept in contact with the "ghetto familial".—G. BRUNON GUARDIA attempts, in a very interesting article in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 8), to identify Homais in *Madame Bovary* with Alfred-Adolphe Jouanne, pharmacist at Ry.—LES VERLAINIENS, headed by the poet André Guibert-Lassalle, commemorated the 39th anniversary of the death of Paul Verlaine at the cemetery of Batignolles on Jan. 6.—ANATOLE FRANCE's literary reputation has declined so greatly in recent years that a society called "Le Lys Rouge" has been formed "pour la défense de sa mémoire." As Fernand Vandérem remarks in *Candide*, "si l'on ne refuse à France ni la pensée ni le style, c'est pour déclarer l'une sans profondeur comme sans portée, l'autre sans nerf et d'une perfection dérisoire." This opinion is shared by François Mauriac, Georges Duhamel, Edouard Bourdet, Roland Dorgelès, Paul Morand and others. Pierre Bost, in another *enquête*, goes so far as to agree with his teacher, Alain, who considered France "un écrivain de dixième ordre." It is likewise interesting to note that Jules Romains, although he was the chief orator, failed to appear at the small gathering that commemorated the 10th anniversary of the death of France at Béchellerie, near Tours, on Oct. 12 last. That Proust is headed in the same direction may be seen from the following remarks contributed by Jacques Chardonne to this inquiry on France: "Les jeunes gens nourris de Proust, vaticine ce sombre Calchas, s'étonnent que d'autres aient fait leurs délices de France. Comprendront-ils ceux qui, plus tard, trouveront dans Proust un immense déchet?"—DR. ROBERT PROUST and Paul Brach are issuing the 5th volume of the *Correspondance générale de Marcel Proust*. Some of the letters were published in the *Revue Universelle* (Dec. 15).—THE LIBRARY of Edouard Dujardin, founder of the *Revue Indépendante*, was sold recently. Among the curiosities listed therein were the naturalization papers of Jean Papadiamantopoulos, better known as Jean Moréas, as well as important letters of Mallarmé.—ADMIRERS OF GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE are seeking to have a street named after him "dans le quartier qui lui inspira *Le Flâneur des Deux-Rives*", according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 1).—LOUIS BARTHOU, who was elected to the Académie Française in 1918, was the 17th holder of his chair (No. 28). His predecessors include Dacier, Cardinal Dubois (1722-23), Casimir Delavigne, Sainte-Beuve, Jules Janin, Henry Barboux (1907-11) and Henry Roujon (1911-18). It may be added that Barthou bequeathed to the Academy his magnificent library and art collection.—CARDINAL VERDIER, Archbishop of Paris, was offered Raymond Poincaré's chair in the Académie Française, but declined it, according to *Candide* (Nov. 29).—NOUVELLES LITTÉRAIRES (Oct. 27) notes that Châtillon-sur-Seine, where the Poincaré family originated, was also the birthplace of Désiré,

Charles and Auguste Nisard, of the poet and mediaevalist, André Mary, who was admired by Moréas, and of Francis Carco as shown by his *Mémoires d'une autre Vie*.—PAUL BOURGET, who is *doyen* of the Académie Française, having been elected in 1894, holds the 33rd chair that was formerly occupied by Voltaire, Barante (for 40 years), and Maxime du Camp.—ABEL HERMANT addressed the Institut de France at its 139th anniversary meeting last Autumn on the "Défense de la Langue française."—LÉON BÉRARD, ardent champion of Greek and Latin, was elected, on Nov. 15, to the chair formerly occupied by Camille Jullian in the Académie Française. At the same time Marshal Franchet d'Espèrey was chosen to succeed the late Marshal Lyautey.—MARCEL BOUTERON, called "un fervent balzacien", has been named Librarian of the Institut.—THE COLLABORATORS of *L'Encyclopédie Française*, headed by M. de Monzie and Prof. Lucien Febvre of the Collège de France, hold a dinner every week in a restaurant in the Rue de Vaugirard. Recent speakers included Joseph Bédier, Ferdinand Brunot, Fernand Payen, Jean Perrin, etc. Prof. Febvre published a brief history of the *Encyclopédie* in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Jan. 5) under the title, "Humanisme et Encyclopédie."—LA REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, through its Editor, René Doumic, gives every year a dinner to 300 distinguished guests. This is said to be the only time that M. Doumic "dîne en ville" during the year.—EDOUARD ESTAUNIE, Paul Valéry, Georges Duhamel, Francis Jammes and Jules Romains were the French candidates for the Nobel Prize, which was awarded to Luigi Pirandello.—"LES ROMANS-FLEUVES" is the term applied by *Candide* (Jan. 3) to the long series of novels devoted to one subject, which are so much in vogue at present. Those that will finish soon are Roger Martin du Gard's *Les Thibault*, Jacques de Lacretelle's *Les Hauts-Ponts* and Jacques Chardonne's *Destinées sentimentales*. But those of Romains and Duhamel "sont encore loin de leurs estuaires."—"LES TREIZE", who contribute the anonymous section of literary news and criticism to the *Intransigent* under the heading "Les Lettres", celebrated their 25th anniversary on Nov. 30 last.—ROBERT FRANCIS, winner of the *Prix Fémina*, having stated in an interview that he placed "le roman féerique bien au-dessus du roman réaliste", François Mauriac—to quote F. Vandérem in *Candide* (Dec. 20)—"se jugeant sans doute visé par son cadet, déclenchait contre lui, dans *Le Figaro*, un éreintement brusqué où ses propos, comme son œuvre, étaient sévèrement passés à tabac. Sur quoi, aussitôt, M. Francis s'empressait de riposter dans *Comœdia* par une contre-attaque non moins pommée." And now literary Paris looks forward to "une mêlée générale entre nos jeunes d'à présent et ceux d'hier."—MME MONIQUE SAINT-HÉLIER, pen-name of a young woman who has been bedridden for 7 years, wrote last Autumn a novel about herself, entitled *Bois-Mort*, which launched at once a literary quarrel between her "admirateurs passionnés" (Edmond Jaloux, Gabriel Marcel, Henri Ghéon, etc.) and her "critiques sans indulgence" (Georges Le Cardonnell, René Lalou, André Rousseaux).—ABBÉ MUGNIER, the friend of Huysmans, has had the unusual experience, according to *Candide* (Nov. 22), of having been treated as a "personnage de romans" more frequently than any other Parisian. Thus, he has been recognized as the character, Abbé Canivet, in Maurois' *Le Cercle de Famille*; as Abbé Mésange in Princess Bibesco's *Catherine Paris*; in Duhamel's *La Nuit d'Orange*; in Henri Lavedan's *Chemin du Salut*; and in Jacques-Emile Blanche's last novel. "Je me sens devenir de plus en plus un personnage littéraire", said the aged Abbé recently.—J.-H. ROSNY's recent novel, *Les Arrivistes . . . et les*



*Autres*, is alleged to be a *roman à clés* and Paul Fourré is supposed to represent Paul Souday. Likewise the *arrivistes*, Morgelannes and Gorgerin, are believed to be two well-known authors.—PIERRE BENOIT stated recently that the inspiration for his novel, *Saint-Jean d'Acre*, came from a note in Barrès, *Enquête aux Pays du Levant*, where the latter discusses the sojourn in Palestine of Col. Boutin, sent by Napoleon to reconnoitre the way to India.—LÉON DAUDET published recently his 86th volume, *Ciel en feu*, a prophetic novel of the war to come.—ARY LEBLOND, the writer, who founded with his brother, Marius, *La Grande France*, was appointed in November Conservateur du Musée des Colonies.—AURO D'ALBA, the Italian poet, published recently a volume of poems, devoted to his dead daughter, under the title, *Ofelia*. "Jamais son art n'a atteint une puissance d'émotion aussi saisissante", says Marcel Brion in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Dec. 29).—FRANCIS DE MIOMANDRE'S LIBRARY, consisting mainly of first editions of famous contemporary writers, with curious dedications, was sold last Fall.—THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE, which mounted Porto-Riche's *La Chance de Françoise* in 1906, *Amoureuse* in 1908 and *Le Passé* in 1921, hesitated until Nov. 16, 1924, before accepting *Le Vieil Homme*, though it is generally considered his masterpiece. Hence, the dramatist's admirers celebrated the 10th anniversary of that event last November.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced in New York during the past quarter, including the following: Nov. 3, Rostand's *L'Aiglon*, freely adapted by Clemence Dane and splendidly acted by Eva Le Gallienne; Nov. 4, the Spanish film, *Tres Amores*, a romantic semi-tragedy; Nov. 11, *Lo Sparviero*, an Italian translation of Croisset's *L'Épervier* (1914), played by the Teatro d'Arte; Nov. 13, the film, *Man of Courage*, adapted from Premier Mussolini's *Camicia Nera*; Nov. 18, the Mexican film, *El Compadre Mendoza*, called "a technical achievement"; the French film, *Madame Bovary*, well acted and presenting interesting scenes; Nov. 20, the film, *Marie Galante*, adapted from Jacques Deval's novel, called "a mediocre melodrama"; Nov. 22, the film, *The Battle*, adapted from Claude Farrère's novel, called "an important cinema event"; Nov. 25, Fox's Spanish film, *Nada Mas que una Mujer*, a romance in the Philippines, praised for the acting of Berta Singerman, Argentine diseuse; Nov. 28, the musical comedy, *Revenge with Music*, based on Alarcón's *El Sombrero de Tres Picos*; Nov. 30, the French film, *L'Agonie des Aigles*, a finely acted and well-photographed account of the "Demi-Soldes" of 1823; Dec. 3, the Fox Mexican film, *Las Fronteras del Amor*, a pleasing musical romance, featuring José Mojica, the Mexican tenor; Dec. 9, the French film, *Crainquebille*, based on Anatole France's story, a "remarkably well photographed and directed picture"; Dec. 21, the film, *Here Is My Heart*, adapted from a play by Alfred Savoir, called "a witty, lyrical and debonaire farce"; the Mexican mystery film, *Quién mató a Eva*; the light comedy, *Ode to Liberty*, adapted from Michel Duran's play, *Liberté Provisoire*, well acted by Ina Claire; Dec. 23, the English film, *Don Quixote*, adapted by Paul Morand, in a lifeless treatment by Chaliapin; Dec. 28, Paramount's Spanish film, *El Tango en Broadway*, a mediocre musical comedy, featuring Carlos Gardel, the Argentine singer; Jan. 6, the Argentine film, *Los Tres Berretines*, a fairly interesting comedy, featuring Luis Sandrini, the Buenos Aires comedian; Jan. 11, the film drama, *Cette Vieille Canaille*, well acted by Harry Baur; Jan. 13, the Spanish-French film, *La Violetera*, featuring Raquel Meller; Jan. 18, the Paramount French film, *Soir de Réveillon*, a musical comedy, well acted by Meg Lemon-



nier and Dranem; Jan. 20, *Il Processo dei Veleni*, translated from Sardou's *Le Drame des Poisons* (1907), splendidly acted by the Teatro d'Arte; the Mexican film, *Dos Monjes*, a well-acted tragedy; Jan. 27, the Argentine film, *El Dancing*, a plotless picture of Buenos Aires' life.—JACQUES COPEAU laments in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Jan. 5) the closing of the Vieux-Colombier.—LE GRAND PRIX DU CINÉMA FRANÇAIS was awarded to the film *Maria Chapdelaine*, based on Louis Hémon's novel, over the Moroccan film, *Itto*, by a vote of 17 to 16.—RAYMOND BERNARD's FILM, *Tartarin de Tarascon*, dialogue by Marcel Pagnol, was the subject of a "Querelle du Cinéma" during December.—THE FIRST FILM entirely in Breton, *Chanson d'Ar-Mor*, was given at Rennes in November.—THE VENICE CINEMATOGRAPHIC BIENNIAL awarded its cup to Vladimir Petrov's *L'Orage*, the Mussolini cup to Robert Flaherty's *Man of Aran* and the Minister of Corporations cup to Max Ophüls, *La Signora di tutti*.—PLAYS produced in Paris during the past quarter include Jean Sarment's *Discours des Prix*, which Philip Carr calls, in the *New York Times*, "an ordinary piece of theatrical effect"; Armand Salacrou's *Une Femme Libre*, which is "witty, consciously absurd, but defiantly unconventional"; Jacques Natanson's *L'Été*, "irritating but stimulating"; Jacques Chabannes' *Voyage Circulaire*, "a rather confused piece of symbolism on conjugal infidelity"; Simon Gantillon's one-act *Cyclone*, "an admirable study of atmosphere", with no action; Alfred Mortier's *Le Goût du Risque*, "a boulevard comedy of intrigue"; the youthful Jean Delage's *L'Autre Lumière*, "a delicately pathetic one-act play"; Saint-Georges de Bouhélier's chronicle play about Joan of Arc, "patiently historical, but lacking dramatic vitality"; Drieu La Rochelle's *Le Chef*, an intelligent, but undramatic play about fascism; Crommelynck's *Chaud et Froid*, a work of genius, but smothered in verbiage; Henri Bernstein's *Espoir*, technically ingenious, but trivial and lacking in imagination; Mme Lucienne Favre's *Prosper*, dealing with the life of a prostitute, which excels in Algerian local color; Jacques Deval's *L'Âge de Juliette*, "theatrically absurd"; Armand Salacrou's *Les Frénétiques*, a bitter satire on the film-world, inferior to *Une Femme Libre*; Deval's *Marie Galante*, another failure; Paul Géraudy's *Do, Mi, Sol, Do*, in which the old-fashioned triangle becomes a quadrangle, denounced by Parisian critics as immoral.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART Purchased recently for \$250,000, from the Leningrad Hermitage Museum, "Le Mezzetin", one of seven paintings by Watteau sold to Catherine the Great in 1765-67. It was painted about 1718-19 for the artist's patron, Jean de Julienne, and represents the stage-character as played by the actor, Luigi Riccoboni. The Museum also announced the purchase of a richly embossed shield that belonged to Henry II (1519-59) as well as a marble bust of the Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld (1774), by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, the first sculpture by this master acquired by it.—SIX PAINTINGS of the J. P. Morgan collection were sold for \$1,500,000 on Jan. 28. The Metropolitan Museum purchased two for \$500,000, viz., Filippo Lippi's "St. Lawrence Enthroned", a triptych, and Rubens, "Anne of Austria." Ghirlandaio's "Portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni" was sold for \$500,000; two Hals portraits, \$300,000; and a Lawrence portrait, \$200,000.—PRINCETON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF HISTORIC ART acquired, on Dec. 31, a small "Madonna and Child" (1485-90), by a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci.—THE SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART, which purchased recently Corot's "La Blonde Gasconne", held in December an exhibition of 22 works by the same artist.—

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY's Gallery of Living Art acquired recently 6 paintings by Léger, 2 by Picasso and one each by Torres-Garcia, Braque and Hélicon.—THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE purchased, on Jan. 15, a "Portrait of a Girl" by Pieter Dubordieu, who was born in Touraine (1609-10), but who lived in Holland from 1630 to his death.—THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, N. Y., announced, on Jan. 15, that it had received donations of works by Salvador Dali, Jean Edouard Vuillard, Raoul Dufy, and others.—THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY EXHIBITION of the Museum of Modern Art was held during the Winter. It began with the Post-Impressionists, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin and Seurat, and extended to the present time.—THE ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY in Buffalo held during January an exhibition of 132 "Master Drawings", covering six centuries, which critics praised highly.—THE PENNSYLVANIA MUSEUM at Philadelphia held a large and comprehensive Cézanne exhibition during the Winter.—THE CENTENARY of the birth of Bartholdi (d. 1904), sculptor of the Statue of Liberty, was celebrated at Colmar on Dec. 23.—CHARLES CARY RUMSEY's bronze equestrian statue of Pizarro, 22-feet high, was donated recently by his widow to the Peruvian Government and was unveiled in Lima on Jan. 18.—ELEVEN PAINTINGS, lent by the Louvre to the San Francisco Palace of the Legion of Honor last Spring, were shown in New York recently. They included: School of Avignon, "Bearing of the Cross"; François Clouet (1510-72), "Henry II"; Poussin, "Martyrdom of St. Erasmus"; Claude Lorraine, "Seaport"; Boucher, "Vertumnus and Pomona"; Largillière, "Duke of Nanteuil"; Chardin, "Le Bénédicite"; David, "Self-Portrait"; Courbet, "Deer in Woods"; Ingres, "Mme Marcotte de Ste-Marie"; and Delacroix, "Abduction of Rebecca."—THE MONASTERIES of Lima, Peru, which contain valuable libraries and works of art, were opened to the public in January, in connection with the quater-centenary celebration of the founding of the city.—THE FIRST MOATED CITY ever discovered in Mayan Central America, Becan, was found recently in Guatemala by Dr. A. V. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution. This moat, 10 feet deep and 10 wide, which surrounds a large city in the bottom of a dry ditch, was built for religious reasons and was connected with a swamp so that it was filled during the rainy season. The Institution also announced, on Jan. 6, that it is excavating in Honduras one of the largest and most ancient Mayan cities, Copan, which flourished in the early years of the Christian era and in which was found the astronomical stone. Dr. G. Stromsvik, who restored the ruins of Quirigua in Guatemala, is carrying on the work according to plans mapped by Prof. Sylvanus Morley.—A STATUE OF A WARRIOR, dating from 600 B. C., was found in December at Capestrano, near Naples. This statue, the oldest ever discovered in Italy, is marked with inscriptions in an unknown language.—THREE FRESCOES, dating from about 1473 and relating the story of St. Anthony, were discovered in January in the church of San Domenico at Città di Castello, near Perugia. The artist is believed to be of the school of Salimbeni di Sanseverino.—LOUIS GILLET published recently the first volume of his *Trésor des Musées de Province*, covering Avignon, Carpentras, Arles, Aix, Marseille, Nîmes and Montpellier. The succeeding volumes will treat of the rest of France.—THE ALBUM of the Cathedral of Chartres, published by André Vigneau in the Editions Tel, contains remarkable examples of photography.—DISCOVERY of an interesting 15th-century fresco in the basilica of Paray-le-Monial was announced in Paris on Dec. 26.—HENRI MATISSE's "Femme Assise dans un Fauteuil", which cost

originally \$4,000, was sold in New York on Nov. 13 for \$375.—HIGHEST PRICES paid for works in Paris art sales during the Winter include the following: 1,166 lithographs by Daumier, 33,080 fr.; Hubert Robert, "Pièce d'Eau dans le Parc d'une Villa italienne", 58,000 fr.; Fragonard, "Pan et Syrinx", 42,000 fr.; Corot, "Le Modèle dans l'Atelier", 198,000 fr.; Demarne, "Village en Fête", 20,000 fr.; Greuze, "Jeune Fille en Buste", 59,000 fr.; Guardi, "Le Matin", and "Le Soir", two panels, 43,500 fr.; Hubert Robert, "Le Jet d'Eau", 37,500 fr.; Prud'hon, "Portrait de Jeune Femme", 25,800 fr.; Rodin, "L'Eternel Printemps", bronze group, 41,300 fr.; Nattier, "Portrait de la Comtesse de Dreux-Bréze", 140,000 fr.; Drouais, "La Marquise de Narbonne", 60,000 fr.; Hubert Robert, "Le Temple en Ruines", 37,200 fr.; Debucourt, "Le Montreur de Marionnettes", 30,500 fr.; Boucher, "Mme Deshayes", pastel, 50,500 fr.; Boilly, "L'Instruction Maternelle", 70,000 fr. and "L'Amant Constant", 54,000 fr.; Prud'hon, "Portrait de lui-même", 100,000 fr.; A. de Dreux, "Jeune Cavalier", 33,600 fr.; Delacroix, "Scène Renaissance", 41,200 fr., bought by Miss Pearl White; and a portrait-drawing of Michelangelo, attributed to the master, 205,000 fr.—ART SALES held in New York during the past quarter include the following: Nov. 13, a small Florentine primitive, "Madonna and Child", by Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, \$2,500; Redon, "Fleurs", \$1,500; Degas, "Femme Assise", \$1,125; Modigliani, self-portrait, \$1,200; Nov. 23, Corot, "La Charrette de Grès", (1872-74), \$11,100; Corot, "Ville d'Avray" (1865-70), \$10,500; Rousseau, "Bosquet d'Arbres", \$5,000; Dec. 15, Corot, "Le Cavalier dans la Campagne", \$13,000; Dec. 19, Rodin, "Tête de Jeune Fille", \$3,050; Jan. 18, Toulouse-Lautrec, "Portrait de H. G. Ibels", \$3,500.—ART EXHIBITIONS, held in New York during the past quarter, include the following, with dates of opening: Nov. 4, sculpture by Despiau; early paintings by Degas (1834-1916); Nov. 8, paintings by Courbet, Degas, Derain, Gauguin, etc.; Nov. 12, 31 canvases by Corot (1796-1875); Nov. 14, New York Public Library exhibition of "Contemporary Lithographs", containing works of Maillol, Matisse, Rouault, etc.; Nov. 18, engravings by 15th-16th century artists, including Raimondi, Duvet, Andreani, etc.; Nov. 21, paintings by Salvador Dali; etchings by Luis Quintanilla; Nov. 22, Late Venetian Art, including Domenico Feti, Bernardo Strozzi, Ricci, etc.; Nov. 23, Lithographs by Daumier, Goya, Delacroix, Manet, Lautrec, Redon, etc.; Dec. 1, 16 canvases by Georges Braque; 17 paintings of El Greco, including the earliest set of the Twelve Apostles; Dec. 7, "Landscapes from Veronese to Corot"; Dec. 15, sculpture by Roberto de la Selva, Argentinian; etchings by Lepère; water-colors by Jean Lurçat; Dec. 18, French and Italian primitives, including Gerini, Fredi, Panetti, Previtali, etc.; primitives including Stefano, Crivelli, Cosimo, etc.; Dec. 29, pastels by Degas; Jan. 5, oils by Paul Gauguin; Jan. 9, a large retrospective exhibition of works by Dunoyer de Segonzac; Jan. 11, works of Joan Miro, surréaliste; Jan. 12, works by the Mexican, Emilio Amero.

MISCELLANEOUS—THE BELGIAN DIVISION of the Modern Language Association of America, of which Prof. G. L. van Roosbroeck was Chairman, held its annual meeting on Dec. 29 at Philadelphia, Pa. The following papers were presented: Marie-Louise Forasté, "The International Fame of Verhaeren"; Ephraim Cross, "Observations on the Romance-Germanic Linguistic Frontier, with Special Reference to the Netherlands"; and G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Modern Flemish Prose Writers." The next meeting of the Division, of which Prof. van

Roosbroeck was re-elected Chairman and Miss Rose M. Daele, of Hunter College, Secretary, will be held at the University of Cincinnati, in December, 1935, in coöperation with the Belgian Institute in the United States.—ARTHUR S. HOPKINS, of the N. Y. State Conservation Department, reported on Nov. 11 that he had obtained from the Archives Nationales and the Archives des Colonies of Paris all the data necessary for the reconstruction of Fort St. Frédéric on the shores of Lake Champlain. The documents consisted of a detailed plan of the fort as originally constructed, dated Oct. 30, 1737, and signed by Chaussegeros de Léry, son of Gaspard de Léry, the engineer who constructed the fortifications at Quebec and Montreal as well as the Lachine Canal; changes and improvements made in 1741 by de Léry; and, finally, the changes observed by Franquet "in the course of my travels in Montreal, Lake Champlain and other sections, from July 24 to Aug. 23, 1752."—A CONTRIBUTOR to the *New York Times* corrects that journal for having stated, in its issue of Nov. 11, that Fort Harrodsburg, Ky., founded in 1774, was the "first permanent white settlement west of the Alleghanies", by pointing out that the following French settlements antedate it: Detroit, 1701; Mobile, 1702; New Orleans, 1718; Vincennes, Ind., 1732; Ste. Genevieve, Mo., 1735; St. Louis, 1764; St. Charles, Mo., 1767; Natchez, Miss., 1774. Fort Rosalie was built at Natchez by the French in 1716, but was destroyed by Natchez Indians in 1729.—THE STATE OF KANSAS will celebrate in 1941 the 400th anniversary of the march of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado (1500-42) through it in search of Cibola and the Seven Cities paved with gold. Although it is known that the Spaniard traversed New Mexico and part of Texas, there is, however, doubt that he ever visited Kansas.—THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY opened, on Jan. 21, a historical exhibition, marking the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier in 1534-35.—PHILIP MAZZEI, the Italian physician who settled in Williamsburg, Va., in 1773, is, according to G. Schiavo in the *New York Times* of Dec. 2, "the man who paved the way for complete American independence."—RAFAEL RAMIREZ, Professor of History at the University of Puerto Rico, discovered, on Jan. 17, underneath the present Casa Blanca at San Juan the original foundations of a house built by the Spanish Crown for Ponce de León in 1521.—LIMA, Peru, dedicated on Jan. 21 monuments to Jacinto Lopez, liberator of Venezuela, Manuel Hidalgo y Costilla, liberator of Mexico, and others.—LORENZO DE BRADI, a Corsican, published recently a volume, entitled *Les Misères de Napoléon*, which, according to critics, is important for what he reveals on Corsican family life in the 18th century, explaining "certaines violences de Bonaparte amoureux."—GIFTS made by Napoleon to his adopted daughter, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, on the occasion of her marriage to the Grand Duke of Baden, brought high prices in London on Dec. 13. These included an 18-piece silver-and-gold service, by the silversmith Biennais, £ 310; and two Gobelin tapestry panels from a set, "Les Amours des Dieux", £ 730.—MME MYRIAM HARRY, the novelist, Roland Marcel, Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and René Le Gentil, journalist, all believe that the mummy of Cleopatra is buried in the gardens of the Bibliothèque Nationale, having been brought to Paris by the Egyptologists who accompanied Napoleon in Egypt.—THE FRENCH MINISTER OF MARINE, M. Piétri, backed by Abel Hermant, maintains that the new French liner is "*La Normandie*", since that is the gender of the ancient Province, but

the *Journal de la Marine marchande* replies: "All ships, no matter what their names may be, in France are masculine. In spite of all the official circulars and all the grammarians of France, never can we be forced to say anything but '*Le Normandie*.'"—ANNIVERSARIES to be commemorated in 1935 include the following: 350th of the birth of Richelieu; 300th of the death of Lope de Vega; 300th of the founding of the French Academy; 125th of the birth of Chopin; 100th of the death of Vincenzo Bellini, Italian opera composer; 90th of the birth of Sarah Bernhardt; 60th of the death of Georges Bizet; 50th of the death of Hugo; 30th of the death of Jules Verne; etc.—AUGUSTE CHEVALIER, the botanist, stirred up a storm of protest in Paris in December by maintaining before the Academy of Sciences that a four-months' sojourn at Cape Verde Islands had convinced him that Atlantis never existed.—THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LITERARY HISTORY, organized like the first (Budapest, May 1931) by the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Littéraire Moderne, will be held at Amsterdam on Sept. 18-22, 1935. Following is the program: "Les Périodes de l'Histoire littéraire de l'Europe (et de l'Amérique) depuis la Renaissance (inclusivement). Quelle est la valeur des divisions chronologiques traditionnellement adoptées? ont-elles besoin d'être revisées? dans quelle mesure peuvent-elles, et celles qui leur seraient substituées pourraient-elles, s'appliquer à telle ou telle littérature particulière? dans quel rapport les périodes adoptées peuvent-elles se trouver avec les périodes historiques, sociales, artistiques etc. . . ? peut-on s'entendre sur le sens et l'extension de certaines dénominations telles que: moyen âge — prérenaissance — renaissance — baroque — classique — préromantisme — romantisme — réalisme, etc. . . ? Plusieurs de ces questions ont été récemment discutées dans divers pays." The above subjects will first be treated by specialists, to be followed by general discussions. Americans are specially invited. For further information address Prof. P. Van Tieghem, 9 rue Paul Saunière, Paris (XVIe).

J. L. G.

